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BY MASSIMO





Where the little things mean everything.198

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DoubleTree.com/Getaway

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Justice Anthony Kennedy in his chambers at the U.S. Supreme Court on June 4.

Photograph by Peter Hapak for TIME

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TIME June 18, 2012

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For adults with chronic moderate to severe plaque psoriasis

Clearer skin



Example of approximately 75% skin clearance after 3 months. For illustrative purposes only. Your results may vary.

Prescription ENBREL is an injection that is clinically proven to provide clearer skin

In medical studies, nearly half of patients saw a significant improvement in their plaque psoriasis within 3 months of using ENBREL. Overall, 3 out of 4 patients saw improvement. Your results may vary.

ENBREL can lower the ability of your immune system to fight infections. Serious infections have happened in patients taking ENBREL, including tuberculosis (TB). Bill M., ENBREL user since 2005

ENBREL is indicated for the treatment of adult patients (18 years or older) with chronic moderate to severe plaque psoriasis who are candidates for systemic therapy or phototherapy.

IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION

What is the most important information I should know about ENBREL?

ENEREL is a modition that affects your immune system. DIERE can love the ability of your immune system to fight if elections features in the system of the s

TB before, during, and after ENBREL treatment, even if you ha

here have been some cases of unusual cancers reported in hildren and teerage patients who started using tumor necrosis action (TMF) blockers before 18 years of age. Also, for children, eenagers, and adults taking TMF blockers, including ENBPEL, the famices of getting lymphoma or other cancers may increase.

Before starting ENBREL, tell your doctor if you:

- Have any existing medical condition
- Think you have, are being treated for, have signs of, or are prone to infection; You should not start taking ENBREL it you have any kind of infection, unless your doctor says it is okay.

- Have any open cute or cores
- . Have diabetes, HIV, or a weak immune syste
- Have TB or have been in close contact with someone who
- Ware here in lived in or travaled to countries where the
 - s more risk for getting TB. Ask your doctor if you are not sure
- Such as, the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys, or the Southwest where there is a greater risk for certain kinds fungal infections, such as histoplasmosis. These infections modelep or become more severe if you take BMSRL. If ye don't know if these infections are common in the areas you been to ask your fector.
- . House or house hard handfittle R.

in 3 months

No out-of-pocket cost for 6 months*

If you and your doctor decide that ENBREL is right for you, ask about help with out-of-pocket costs through ENBREL Support

Eligible patients can receive up to \$4,000 of assistance for each 6-month period. Patient is responsible for costs above these amounts.

Eligibility: Open to patients with commercial prescription insurance. Not open to uninsured patients or patients receiving prescription reimbursement under any federal, state, or government-funded insurance programs (for example, Medicare including Medicare Part D,

Medicaid, etc.) or patients who live in Massachusetts (or where prohibited by law). Restrictions, including monthly maximums, may apply. Offer subject to change or discontinuation without notice.

For patients with moderate to severe plaque psoriasis who are first starting ENBREL and prescribed 50 mg twice-weekly dosing, program provides an additional \$2,000 per patient for the first 3 months of therapy only.

Ask your dermatologist if ENBREL is right for you. Learn more: Visit AboutEnbrel.com or call 1-888-4ENBREL.



If you have any questions about this information, be sure to discuss them with your decide two are encouring in report negative side effects of prescription found to the FDA. Viola www.fsa.gov/mestucitich or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

Please see Medication Guide on the following page.

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Medication Guide Enbret® (en-brel) (etanercept) Read the Medication Guide that comes with Enbrel before you start

using it and each time you get a refill. There may be new information This Medication Guide does not take the place of talking with your doctor under your doctor's care while using Enbrel. Enbrel is a prescription medicine called a Tumor Necrosis Factor (TNF)

What is the most important information I should know about Enbrel?

1. Risk of Infection

1. Risk of infection

Enbrel can lower the ability of your immune system to fight infections. infections include tuberculosis (TB), and infections caused by viruses,

- · Your doctor should test you for TB before starting Entirel. · Your doctor should monitor you closely for symptoms of TB during
- . Your doctor should check you for symptoms of any type of infection before, during and after your treatment with Enbrel.
- your doctor says it is okay

2. Risk of cancer

- . There have been cases of unusual cancers in children and teenage patients who started using TNF-blocking agents at less than 18 years
- of age. · For children, teenagers and adults taking TNF-blocker medicines,
- · People with rheumatoid arthritis or psoriasis, especially those with very active disease, may be more likely to get lymphoma.

Before starting Enbrei, be sure to talk to your doctor: Enbrei may not be right for you. Before starting Enbrei, tell your doctor

Infections - tell your doctor if you:

- . have an infection. (See "What is the most important information I should know about Enbrel?"
- · are being treated for an infection . think you have an infection.
- . have symptoms of an infection such as fever, sweats or chills, cough weight loss, muscle aches, warm, red or painful areas on your skin, sores on your body, diarrhea or stomach pain, burning when you urinate or urinating more often than normal and feel very tired.
- · have any open cuts on your body. . get a lot of infections or have infections that keep coming back. . have diabetes. HIV or a weak immune system. People with these
- . have TB, or have been in close contact with someone with TB.
- . live, have fived in or traveled to certain parts of the country (such as the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys, or the Southwest) where
- there is a greater risk for getting certain kinds of fungal infections fristoplasmosis, coccidioidomycosis, blastomycosis). These infections doctor if you do not know if you live or have lived in an area where

Also, BEFORE starting Enbrel, tell your doctor: · About all the medicines you take including prescription

- and nonprescription medicines, vitamins and herbal supplements including: . Orencia® (abatacept) or Kineret® (anakinra). You have a higher
- . Cyclophosphamide (Cytoxan*). You may have a higher chance for
- · Anti-diabetic Medicines. If you have diabetes and are taking

Keep a list of all your medications with you to show your doctor and pharmacist each time you get a new medicine. Ask your doctor if you are

Other important medical information you should tell your

- doctor BEFORE starting Enbrel, includes if you: · have or had a nervous system problem such as multiple sclerosis or
- . have or had heart failure.
- · are scheduled to have surgery.
- . have recently received or are scheduled to receive a vaccine. · all vaccines should be brought up-to-date before starting Enbrel.
- · people taking Enbrel should not receive live vaccines
- · are allergic to rubber or latex. . the needle covers on the single-use prefilled syringes and the single-use prefilled SureClick® autoinjectors contain dry
- have been around someone with varicella zoster (chicken pool.
- · are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. It is not known if Enbrel will harm your unborn baby . Pregnancy Registry: Amgen has a registry for pregnant women
- will take Enbrei or breast feed. You should not do both See the section "What are the possible side effects

of Enbrei?" below for more information. What is Enbrel? Enhrel is a prescription medicine called a Tumor Necrosis Factor

Enhael is used to treat . moderately to severely active rheumatoid arthritis (RA). Enbrei

- . psoriatic arthritis. Enbrel can be used alone or with methotrexate · ankylosing spondylitis (AS).
- · chronic moderate to severe plaque psoriasis in adults ages 18 years and older. · moderately to severely active polyarticular juvenile idiopathic
- arthritis (JIA) in children ages 2 years and older. You may continue to use other medicines that help treat your condition while taking Enbrel, such as nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory drugs

Enbrel can help reduce joint damage and the signs and symptoms of the above mentioned diseases. People with these diseases have too much of a protein called tumor necrosis factor (TNF), which is made by your block the damage that too much TNF can cause, but it can also lower the ability of your immune system to fight infections. See "What is the most important information I should know about Enbrel?" and

"What are the possible side effects of Enbrel? Who should not use Enbrel?

Do not use Enbrel if you:

. have an infection that has spread through your body (sepsis). How should I use Enbrel?

- . Enbrel is given as an injection under the skin (subcutaneous or SC). . If your doctor decides that you or a caregiver can give the injections of Enbrel at home, you or your caregiver should receive training on the right way to prepare and inject Enbrel. Do not try to inject Enbrel until
- you have been shown the right way by your doctor or nurse. . Enbrel is available in the forms listed below. Your doctor will prescribe
- the type that is best for you. Single-use Prefilled Syringe
 - Single-use Prefilled SureClick Autoinjector
 - Multiple-use Vial
- . See the detailed "Instructions for Use" with this Medication Guide for injections at home
- any doses of Enbrei. If you forget to use Enbrei, inject your dose as soon as you remember. Then, take your next dose at your regular(ly) scheduled time. In case you are not sure when to Inject Entirel, call your doctor or pharmacist. Do not use Enbrel more often than as directed by your doctor.
 - . Your child's dose of Enbrei depends on his or her weight. Your child's

What are the possible side effects of Enbret?

See "What is the most important information I should know about Enbrei?" Enbrei can cause serious side effects, including:

. Infections, Enbrel can make you more likely to get infections or make any infection that you have worse. Call your doctor right away if you have any symptoms of an infection. See "Before starting Enbrel, be sure to talk to your doctor" for a list of symptoms of infection . Hepatitis B infection in people who carry the virus in their blood. If you cause 2011 temporal Corporation At notes reserved. Printed in the U.S.A.

are a carrier of the hepatitis B virus ta virus that affects the liver), the virus . Nervous system problems. Rarely, people who use TNF-blocker

- medicines have developed nervous system problems such as multiple sclerosis, seizures or inflammation of the nerves of the eves. Tell your doctor right away if you get any of these symptoms: numbness or tingling in any part of your body, vision changes, weakness in your . Blood problems. Low blood counts have been seen with other
- TNF-blocker medicines. Your body may not make enough of the blood cells that help fight infections or help stop bleeding. Symptoms include . Heart failure including new heart failure or worsening of heart failure
- you already have. New or worse heart failure can happen in people who use TNF-blocker medicines like Enbrel. If you have heart failure your condition should be watched closely while you take Enbrel. Call your doctor right away if you get new or worsening symptoms of heart your lower legs or feet. . Psoriasis. Some people using Enbrel developed new psoriasis or
- red scaly patches or raised bumps that may be filled with pus. Your Allergic reactions. Allergic reactions can happen to people who use TNF-blocker medicines. Call your doctor right away if you have any
- include a severe rash, a swollen face or trouble breathing. · Autoimmune reactions, including: . Lupus-like syndrome. Symptoms include a rash on your face and
 - · Autoimmune hepatitis. Liver problems can happen in people who
 - use TNF-blocker medicines, including Entirel. These problems can lead to liver failure and death. Call your doctor right away if you have appetite or vomiting, pain on the right side of your stomach (abdomen).
- Common side effects of Enbrel include: . Injection site reactions such as redness, swelling, itching or pain These symptoms usually go away within 3 to 5 days. If you have pain, redness or swelling around the injection site that doesn't go away or
- nets worse, call your doctor . Upper respiratory infections (sinus infections) · Headache.
- These are not all the side effects with Enbrel. Tell your doctor about any side effect that bothers you or does not go away. Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report
- side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088. How should I store Enbrel?
- . Do not freeze. . Do not shake
- . Keep Enbrel in the original carton to protect from light. . Keep Enbrel and all medicines out of the reach of children.
- General Information about Enbrei
- Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes not mentioned in a Medication Guide. Do not use Enbrel for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give Enbrel to other people, even if they have the same condition. It may harm them
- This Medication Guide summarizes the most important information about Enbrei. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. was written for healthcare professionals. For more information, call 1-888-4ENBREL (1-888-436-2735) What are the ingredients in Enbrel?

Single-use Prefilled Syringe and the Single-use Prefilled SureClick Active incredient: etanercept

Inactive Ingredients: sucrose, sodium chloride, L-arginine hydrochloride

Multiple-use Vial: Active Ingredient: etanercept

Inactive Ingredients: mannitol, sucrose, tromethamine

Issue Date: 12/2011 This Medication Guide has been approved by the U.S. Food and



COMMEMORATIVE REISSUE

TIME

When Elizabeth Became Queen

To mark the British monarch's Diamond Jubilee, TIME presents the complete Feb. 18, 1952, issue spotlighting her accession to the throne



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Editor's Desk



The Swing Voter Who Matters Most



A FEW YEARS AGO, AN academic study on judicial decisionmaking suggested that judges generally make intuitive decisions-and then sometimes override them through deliberation. In a high

court where eight of the nine votes are fairly predictable, it becomes a matter of great importance to figure out how that unpredictable ninth Justice, Anthony Kennedy, makes up his mind. From this week's cover story, it seems as though Kennedy almost reverses this process: careful deliberation comes first, then intuition tips the balance. But as Massimo Calabresi and David Von Drehle's deeply reported story argues, Kennedy really seems to approach cases with a degree of open-mindedness that is rare. He weighs fidelity to the Constitution, then uses his best judgment to come to a conclusion. In many ways, that's what we ask of Supreme Court Justices, whose job, wrote Chief Justice John Marshall in Marbury v. Madison in 1803, is "to say what the law is." Calabresi interviewed dozens of Kennedy's clerks, friends and former colleagues, many of whom said the key to unlocking the Justice's worldview was his upbringing in Sacramento. So Calabresi went there to interview childhood friends and colleagues. Says Von Drehle: "Justice Kennedy is probably the most difficult member of the court to write about because his approach to cases is less predictable and clear-cut than his colleagues'. But that's precisely why we wanted to dig into his story and understand him better."

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR



THE CONVERSATION

'I'm not afraid of death. I just don't want to be there when it happens.'

Several readers were reminded of that classic Woody Allen line by Joe Klein's June 11 cover story about the demise of his parents, "The Long Goodbye." Klein's thesis, that end-of-life care is managed better by doctors on salary than by those who are paid by the procedure, was endorsed by some, including MSNBC's Joe Scarborough, "It's a revolution that has to occur in health care," he said, reflecting on his parents' experience. Although the subject was heavy, readers were moved by it and thanked TIME for forcing them to think about the inevitable. On Facebook, Ita Okon noted, "We should not only learn how to live well, but how to die well,"

Thanks a Million

TIME marked a socialnetworking milestone in early June when we logged our millionth follower on Google+, and we remain the top news brand on the 11-monthold site, "Congrats!" wrote Shawn Ratcliffe, one of G+'s 170 million users. *Happy to add you to my circles-especially since I have grown up with you!" Another user, Rich Harris, was more analytical: "Publish great stuff ... and they will come." We agree. Find us at plus.google.com.

WRITE TO US letters@time.com. attachments

Send a letter: TIME Magazine Letters. Time & Life Building, New York, NY 10020. Letters should include the writer's full name.

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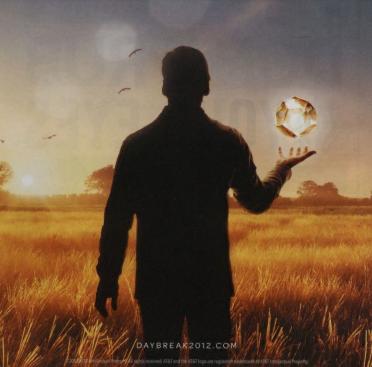


Happiness & simple

AT&T PRESENTS

DAYBREAK

IN ASSOCIATION WITH BBDO AND TIM KRING



Briefing

'We tell Wisconsin, we tell our country...
voters really do want leaders who
stand up and make the tough decisions.'

1. SCOTT WALKER, Republican governor of Wisconsin, who became the first U.S. governor to survive a recall vote that arose from his push to end collective bargaining for public workers

'They chopped off the heads of their nobility. We are very lucky that we have held on to ours.'

2. WILL PAKENHAM-WALSH, businessman from Britain's Isle of Wight, chastising other European countries while celebrating Queen Elizabeth II's Diamond Jubilee

'We need more Europe, not less.

3. ANGELA MERKEL, Chancellor of Germany, explaining how tighter integration of the European Union's banking systems could prevent future financial crises

'Sectarianism has no mercy against anyone.'

 SADEQ AL-MOUSAWI, Baghdad resident, after a suicide car bomber targeting Shi'ite religious offices killed at least 18 people and wounded about 125 more.

'We understand how old singers who need to get people talking about them go to such extremes'

5. MARINE LE PEN, head of France's right-wing National Front party, digging at Madonna for flashing a faked image of Le Pen with a swastika on her forehead during a concert in Tel Aviv





1in5

who admit to peeing in pools; no data are availa for those who do so and deny it.

20%

donations made by women: roughly half came from a single donor. Miriam Adelson, who supported Newt Gingrich

21

Age of Sho Yano, who earned an M.D. from the University of Chicago; he entered college at 11 medical school at 12 and received a Ph.D. at 18

160,000

Number of American teenagers hired for summer jobs in May, up ill least 100% over the same month





World

The number echoes the date of the 6/4/89 Transmen Square riots





A line of stalled trucks waiting to pass through the NATO supply route

A Drone Strike Downs al-Qaeda's No. 2

1. PAKISTAM A. U.S. official confirmed that Abu Yahya al-Libi, al-Qaeda's second in command under Ayman al-Zawahiri, was killed in a drone strike on June a in Pakistan's northwest region. This is the most significant gain against al-Qaeda since the killing of Osama bin Laden by Navy SEALs in Abbottabad last year. Al-Libi was known for escaping from a U.S. prison in Afghanistan in 2003 and for making a series of videos calling for attacks on the U.S.

President Ohama has continued to support drone strikes despite ongoing criticism from the Pakistani government and human rights groups. The two countries have also been unable to reach a deal on reopening the main NATO supply lines along Pakistan's border with Afghanistan. Pakistan shut down the main route into Afghanistan in November after a U.S. air strike killed at Pakistan's oldlers. The drone campaign has intensified over the past month; the strike on al-Libi was the third in three days in North Waziristan, a haven for al-Qaeda and Taliban militants. The attack took place against a backdrop of increased tension in the region as NATO begins to prepare to pull combat troops out of Afghanistan by the middle of next year.

-64.89

Hidden Meaning in a Market Drop?

210-HMA In a bizarre incident that sent the Chinese establishment into overdrive, the Shanghai Composite Index fell 64,80 points on June 4, echoing the date of the Tianammen Square crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrations—June 4, 1089—exactly 23 years earlier. The Chinese blogosphere was abuze with reactions—"Maybe God does exist?" one person wrote—but the country's censors, already tasked with erasing references to the tragedy, quickly began blocking online searches for stock market, Shunghai Composite Index, Shunghai Stock market and other such phrases. Still, in a nation that puts great emphasis on numerology—hence the Beijing Olympie's Starting time of 808 p.m. on Aug. 8, 2008; multiple eights are considered very lucky—that number had already resonated.

Flaming Computers

3 IRAN High-

ranking tranlan officials confirmed that their computer had been exposed to a data-mining virus called Flame. The new virus is very similar to the Stuxnet worm that had previously compromised the Iranlan

nuclear-weapons program but is potentially even more destructive. Though no one has taken responsibility for the attack. Iranian officials said the virus resembled Israeli

on such matters.) Under President Obama, the U.S. has reportedly been expanding the cyberweapons program that was started

Administration.

VENEZUELA

'This is the happiest day of my life!'

new home from President Hugo Chavez for becoming his a multionia





Mubarak's Sentence Sparks Outrage

4 IEGYPT Thousands of Egyptians gathered in Tahrir Square, above, to protest the outcome of the trial of former President Hosni Mubarak. Along with his sons Alaa and Gamal, Mubarak was acquitted on charges of corruption. And though prosecutors had asked for the death penalty, he and his Interior Minister got life in prison as accessories to murder in the deaths of protesters during the revolution. Protestors also want Egypt's interim military government to enforce legislation barring top Mubarak officials from seeking the presidency. That would disqualify former Prime Minister Ahmed Shafik from the second round of voting, on June 16 and 17.

Buzz Masters

5 SCANDINAVIA Why does the region drink so much coffee? Easy. "It's dark in the winter, and coffee & invigorating," says Jacob Ostberg, a professor at Stockholm University. Plus, he adds, "In Sweden, coffee breaks are written into employee contracts.







Defense Secretary Leon Panetta with the Vietnamese Defense Minister in Hanoi

MIAs in Vietnam: The Search Goes On with Hanoi's Help

6 VIETNAM In the continuing search for the remains of some of the 1,284 U.S. service members still missing in Vietnam, an agreement between Vietnamese Defense Minister Phuong Quang Thanh and U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta will allow Americans to excavate three sites in Vietnam that were previously off-limits. As the U.S. prepares to expand its strategic presence in the Asia-Pacific region, it has been exploring ways to increase military cooperation with its former enemy and resolve remaining questions about American MIAs.

COLOMBIA

97.4%



Nation

Between the Lines By Mark Halperin

With five months until Election Day. Barack Obama faces a grim new reality: Republicans now believe Mitt Romney can win, and Democrats believe Obama can lose ... > Last week's anemic job-creation and

economic-growth data was sandwiched between two Bill Clinton specials: in one television interview, the 42nd President lauded Romney's business record as "sterling": in another, he veered from the Obama line on the extension of Bush-era tax cuts ... ▶ The failure to governor Scott Walker in a sign for Democrats since it will rev up conservatives nationwide. including the kind of millionaires who gave big bucks to Walker's effort ... > Veteran Democratic strategists from previous presidential bids and on Capitol Hill now wonder if the Obama re-election message ... > The White House remains on a rough political trajectory, with a potentially adverse Supreme Court decision on the Obama health care law looming. additional bad economic news from Europe coming and more worrisome polling pending ... > Another danger for the President: the media freak show. Stalking that circus' center ring is Matt Drudge, whose caustic website continues to help drive the news cycle with an emphasis on negative, mocking items about Obama and Vice President Joe Biden and their wives. The latest sign of Drudge's potency: Ed Klein, the author of the virulently anti-Obama book The Amateur, was barred from major TV appearances and mostly ignored by the mainstream media, but the book's prominence on Drudge's website

propelled it to the No. 1 slot on the New York Times nonfiction list.

What City Councils Are Banning in ...

New York City's Mayor Michael Bloomberg may be making the biggest splash for trying to rid the Big Apple of Big Gulps, among other sugary drinks (see Health, page 20), but other cities have their likes and dislikes too. Here's a rundown of the most recent bans:

Going, going, gone

Washington is one

second largest city

raccoons, cougars leaders moved to make feeding or illegal. There's urban deer

No Dragging and Sagging: Pull Up

passed on May 30 called "gangster-

neighborhoods.

WORD OF THE WEEK

Cat-tle-drone

See: The I nvironmental Protection Agency





IT'S READY FOR 627 MILES' OF WIND IN YOUR HAIR PER TANK. ARE YOU?

43 MPG ESTIMATED: 200 HP. NOW AVAILABLE ON THE REINVENTED 2012 CAMRY HYBRID.





CAMPY

es per gallon and more money in your pocket. Not that your dog cares about any of that, but you might

IT'S READY. ARE YOU?







toyota.com/camiy



Military

Drone Dilemma

The risks in waging war by flying robot By Michael Crowley

with the Economy Front And center in the presidential campaign, national security has provided mainly background noise. But both parties intend to use it to their advantage whenever they can. The Obama campaign recently released an aid that boastfully—some say shamelessly—recounts the President's decision to launch the raid that killed Osama bin Laden. But Republicans are meeting bravado with bravado. Asked by CBS News to grade Obama's foreign policy, Mitt Romney replied, "Oh, an F—no question about that."

It's impossible to know whether Romnev really believes that's the case when it comes to Obama's reliance on unmanned drone strikes to kill suspected terrorists in places from Pakistan to Yemen. When the White House announced on June 5 that a CIA drone attack in Pakistan's tribal area had killed al-Qaeda's No. 2 official, Abu Yahya al-Libi, even the Wall Street Journal editorial page, hardly a White House fan site, cheered: "President Obama's decision to expand the drone program into Pakistan and Yemen-which are difficult for U.S. troops to access-is one of his finest accomplishments." A May 29 story in the New York Times described Obama's intimate involvement in the drone campaign, right down to his approval of specific people for elimination, offered up on what's come to be known as the kill list. One Administration official insists to TIME that the President's personal role has been exaggerated. Obama "outlines the parameters of our counterterrorism policy. He does not make the call on every action," says the official. Even the parameters are lethal: since Obama took office, Pentagon and CIA drones have killed dozens of suspected terrorists this way. It's doubtful that Romney would really flunk Obama for that. Indeed, it would be surprising if Romney didn't pursue the same policy if



elected President. But it's not quite as riskfree as it seems.

Drones offer many clear advantages over more conventional forces. They are more precise, limiting (though not eliminating) the collateral damage that results from aerial bombing and ground operations. They are relatively cheap. And they bring no direct risk to American troops.

That's a big contrast to the military strategy that dazzled Washington just a few years ago. Counterinsurgency, as tailored for Iraq and Afghanistan, called for a hearts-and-minds campaign to win over populations in conflict zones through face-to-face interaction and infrastructure projects. Obama's first Pentagon budget funded equipment and training to support a long-term focus on the doctrine. But counterinsurgency is slow and expensive, requires vast manpower and-most important-has had disappointing results in Afghanistan. With budgets shrinking and voters restless, the doctrine looks finished in Afghanistan and has lost its cachet in military circles.

Just consider the latest chapter in the career of David Petraeus. The Army general is an intellectual godfather of modern counterinsurgency theory, which he

Drones are a cheap and deadly military tool. But they carry hidden costs

helped carry out when he was the top U.S. commander in Iraq and Afghanistan. Since September, when Petraeus took over the ClA, he has focused on the agency's terrorist hunting drone campaign. Having once obsessed over winning over locals through close contact and knowledge of tribal customs, Petraeus now refines the art of bombing from the air without so much as a boot on the reround.

Yet civilians in those areas know whose missiles are exploding in their villages and occasionally killing their children. That's where things get complicated. Drones may be a cheap and convenient military tool. But they risk dangerous blowback if they alienate and radicalize local populations. Recent reporting from Yemen by the Washington Post and PBS suggests that civilian casualties of U.S. drone strikes there may be engendering support for al-Qaeda, which is turning the unstable nation into perhaps its most important base of operations. (Yemen has been the source of several attempted terrorist strikes on the U.S. in the past few years.) U.S. drone strikes are also wildly unpopular in Pakistan, where anti-Americanism confounds our larger foreign policy goals. like ensuring the security of that country's nuclear weapons and ending its government's support of some Taliban factions. The danger can blow across our own borders. Faisal Shahzad, the failed 2010 Times Square bomber, says he sought revenge for innocent victims of U.S. drones in Somalia. Yemen and Pakistan.

There's little question that drones have ravaged al-Qaeda. The concern is that there's always a No. 3 man ready to fill the role of the last No. 2 to have been "martyred." But many national-security pros, including Obama's first Director of National Intelligence, Dennis Blair, now warn that we're growing addicted to the simplicity of drones without carefully considering their side effects.

The alternatives—like cajoling and training foreign militaries to do more terrorist hunting for us—carry their own challenges and risks. But the risk of drone blowback is real enough that the presidential candidates ought to address it. When it comes to candidly debating the new face of American warfare, they both earn an E.



41

HIS FAMILY. HIS TRIUMPHS. HIS LEGACY INSIDE THE LIFE OF GEORGE H.W. BUSH, AN AMERICAN LEADER.

HBO DOCUMENTARY FILMS: WARRESTOWN ATTECOMENT AT A SECURIT WORKING TO STANDARD A SECURITY OF A SECURI

PREMIERES THURSDAY JUNE 14, 9PM HBO

OR WATCH IT ON HOOGO

Economy

park attractions

that own theme parks,

like Disney and Universal.

it has always made sense to build

rides around popular movies. But

in-no matter the cost. "It's easier to

tap into an existing fan base," says

Martin Palicki, editor of InPark

magazine, referring to new rides

Avengers and others.



FIREBOLT BROOMSTICK AT WIZARDING WORLD OF HARRY POTTER

Thrill Ride. How theme parks are upping the ante

Are roller coasters recession-proof? No. But attendance at major theme parks in North America rebounded 2.0% last year, and globally the figure rocketed past 198 million-a 4.8% increase over 2010. Spurred by the popularity boost, almost every major theme park has raised prices this year. One-day passes to Disney World and Universal Studios Hollywood now sell for \$89 and \$80, respectively, both up at least 4% over 2011, as the parks rein in discounting. Here are the bigger, bolder attractions theme parks are offering to raise the thrillper-dollar value. - MOLLY MARTIN

Gurnee, III winged roller coaster

BONZAL PIPELINE

Six Flags.

Galveston, Texas

ANGRY **BIRDS LAND**

LAND

SUPERMAN

"We're always drawn to spectacle." Palicki says. That's clear in Asia, where live shows boosted attendance at major theme parks past 105 million last year, a record high. And the U.S. is following suit: Iceploration, an elaborate ice show at Busch Gardens Tampa Bay, opened this spring, as did Cinematic Spectacular, a nighttime pyrotechnics show at Uni-

versal Orlando that celebrates the studio's 100 years of making movies.

show at SeaWorld San Diego boosted attendance by 13%

MANTA

San Diego



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The Big Gulp. New York City and Disney are cracking down on junk food. Will it work? By Alice Park

IT'S BEEN A TOUGH FEW WEEKS FOR SOME OF OUR SWEETEST food manufacturers. Disney announced strict nutritional standards for foods advertised on its TV channels, radio stations and websites as well as at its theme parks, and New York City proposed aban on all sugar-sweetend beverages larger than 16 oz. at most retailers, including restaurants and sports arenas. Otherwise liberal critics like Jon Stewart blasted the latter in particular as a confusing government overreach.

Both efforts are aimed at addressing the still growing obesity problem in the U.S.; 35% of adults and 17% of children under 19 are obese, and the calorie-rich fare we see on television and wherever we eat is driving the trend. But how effective are such tough-love health policies.

When it comes to advertising, Disney may be on the right track toward improving kids' ealing habits. A recent study found that for every hour children spend in front of the TV, they are 18% more likely to eat candy and 16% more likely to eat fast food, mainly because of ads that promote them. Removing such marketing could steer children away from unhealthy eating habits and toward healthier ones that include more fruits and vegetables.

The evidence from some of New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg's previous health measures is more mixed. New York City was the first to require restaurant chains to post calorie counts for their offerings, and while some studies showed that people given the information consumed about 60 fewer calories, other studies, particularly those conducted in lower income areas, showed either no change or even higher calorie purchases in the presence of the tallies. Still, Bloomberg is hoping that the inconvenience of refilling a sodo or navigating movie theater aisless while juggling multiple bottles will deter people from drinking as much

Coca-Cola and other beverage titans bristled at being singled out, saying obesity is caused by many factors, not just soda, which is true. But given how many of Bloomberg's health initiatives have caught on nationwide (see sidebar), they should brace themselves for a possible drop in demand.

LEADING THE CHARGE

A rundown of New York City's pioneering health measures



TRANS FATS After New York City required restaurants and food vendors to phase out use of

these unhealthy fats, Philadelphia and San Francisco followed suit

followed suit



POSTED ALORIE COUNTS

New York City put forth this mandate in 2008; now it's a national law for retailers with more than 20 locations



SMOKING

Lighting up is already banned in public parks, plazas and beaches in New York City and San Jose, Calif. Boulder, Colo., may be next

Milestones





Ray Bradbury

Like so many great horror writers, Ray Bradbury was utterly without fear. He wasn't scared of optimism or innocence or sentiment. He didn't give a damn if the literary lions accepted him, though they did. "If I'd found out that Norman Mailer liked me," he once said, "I'd have killed myself." Though best known for science fiction, he wrote in every genre and form, from fantasy to poetry, and he wrote beautifully enough for adults and clearly enough for kids. He faced up to parts of human nature most people don't see, even in their nightmares. His advice to writers was as follows: "You've got to jump off cliffs all the time and build your wings on the way down."

Bradbury, who was or when he died on June 5, never went to college. but he read and absorbed everything from Shakespeare to Heinlein. His masterpiece, The Martian Chronicles, published in 1950, is about human colonists who land on Mars only to find a world that's a reflection of their own dark, unconscious landscape. Bradbury explored both outer space and inner space. To him they were the same thing. He wasn't a prophet of the future. He never even learned to drive. "I don't try to describe the future," he said more than once. "I try to prevent it." We thank him for saving us from the futures he prevented-and for giving us the one he made. -- LEV GROSSMAN

GRADUATED

Herb Reed, 83. founder and last surviving original nember of the Platters, who sang hass on 1950s hits such as "Only You" and "The Great Pretender."

Sam Tan Wei Shen. of Singapore, who became the first foreign midshipman to finish at the top of his class in the 167-year history of the U.S. Naval



REVOKED

Pakistani Sesame Street, because of alleged corruption at the local puppet theater working on the project. The series was to star Eimo and Pakistani characters.

Richard Dawson

DIED

Richard Dawson-actor, game-show host and professional charmerwas best known as a sly, saucy daytime-TV conversationalist on, most famously, Family Feud. At least half the fun was how the guick-witted Dawson played off his guests and deflected their flubs. Feud was a show about people. The questions were not about facts; rather, they asked how a contestant thought most other people would answer, regardless of whether they were right or wrong. ("Survey says!") And Dawson, who died June 2 at 79. was a people person. He loked with the men. flirted with the ladiesand famously kissed them, every one-reveled with the winners and commiserated with the losers. Survey says: He'll be remembered above all for being the gameshow host who loved us. -JAMES PONIEWOZIK



Adolfo Calero As a U.S. educated

Coca-Cola executive and Conservative Party leader in Nicaragua. Adolfo Calero, who died June 2 at 80, opposed the brutally corrupt right-wing dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza, But after the 1070 overthrow of Somoza, Calero sensed the victorious Sandinistas were erecting totalitarian regime." He fled to Florida, where the CIA made him the head of the armed rebel force that would be known as the contras. When Congress barred contra funding, it led to one of the great imbroglios of the Reagan Administration: the Iran-contra scandal. in which Calero's men got some \$30 million via the efforts of Reagan aides like Lieut, Colonel Oliver North to raise funds by selling weapons



argued that the

Catholic teaching.

By the Vatican, Just The Ninth Circuit Love: A Framework Court of Appeals, to for Christian Sexual reconsider its ruling Ethics by prominent striking down nun and theologian California's gay-Margaret Farley; It marriage ban; the issue now most book contradicts likely goes to the

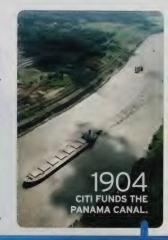
Supreme Court.

Orlando Woolridge 52, high-flying dunk and alley-oop seasons in the NBA, of a chronic

to Iran. - TIM PARGETT

specialist during 13 heart condition; he also coached in the WNBA and ABA

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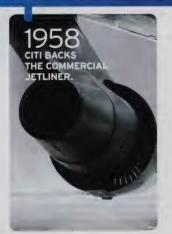












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Fareed Zakaria

Broken and Obsolete

An immigration deadlock makes the U.S. a second-rate nation

S THE AMERICAN ECONomy sags, the race for the presidency gets tighter-except in one dimension. Hispanic Americans continue to support Barack Obama by an astonishing 61%-to-27% margin. Were Obama to win, it might well be because of his attitudes on one issue immigration. But it is an issue on which he will be unable to enact any of his preferences, let alone those policies that many Latinos support. The Republican Party has taken a tough stand on the topic. Democrats have their own bright lines. That means America's immigration system is likely to stay as it is right now-utterly broken.

We think of ourselves as the

world's great immigrant society, and of courty's history, that has been true. But something fascinating has happened over the past two decades. Other countries have been transforming themselves into immigrant societies, adopting many of America's best ideas and even improving on them. The result: the U.S. is not a sex ceptional as it once was, and its immigration advantage is lessening.

Would you have guessed that Canada and Australia both have a higher percentage of foreign-born citizens than the U.S.? In fact, in this respect, America—which once led the world—increasingly looks like many other Western countries. France, Germany and the U.K. have only slightly fewer foreign-born residents than America (as a percentage of the population). And some of these countries have managed to take in immigrants mostly based on their skills, giving a big boost to their economies.

Canadian immigration policy is now centered on re-cruiting talented immigrants with abilities the country needs. Those individuals can apply for work visas themselves; they don't even need to have an employer. The Canadian government awards points toward the visa, with extra points for science education, technical skills and work experience.

The results of the system are evident in Vancouver, where American hightechnology companies like Microsoft have large research laboratories and offices. The people working in these offices are almost all foreign graduates of American universities who could not get work visas in the U.S. They moved a few hours north to Vancouver, where they live in a city much like those on the American West Coast, Except, of course, that they will pay taxes, file patents, make inventions and hire people in Canada.

Sixty-two percent of permanent-resident visas in Canada are based on skills, while the remainder are for family unification. In the U.S., the situation is almost exactly the reverse: two-thirds of America's immigrants enter through family unification, while only 13% of green cards are granted because of talent, merit and work. And it's actually gotten worse over time. The cap on applications for HI-B visas (for highly skilled immigrants) has dropped in half over the past decade.

It's not as if America doesn't need these people. American companies are struggling to fill 3.7 million job openings. many of them in science related fields. Meanwhile, foreign students receive half of all doctorates in such fields, and almost all of them will head home after graduation. (In recent years, the H1-B visa limit was reached within the first few days of filing!) New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg calls America's immigration policy the single biggest problem facing the economy and argues that our current approach is "national suicide.

It isn't just Canada to which America is losing the best and brightest. Australia, Britain and Singapore are all wooing the world's most talented graduates. And then there are China and India



where many of these graduates come from. As those countries develop economically, new opportunities grow there, and lots of Indians and Chinese decide to go back home. The Beijing government makes a serious effort to recruit many of these people, from recent college graduates to tenured professors at the world's best universities. The evidence is that increasingly it is succeeding.

But none of these broad

arguments to reform America's immigration system will



500 companies founded by immigrants or the children of immigrants

800,000

Number of job openings by 2018, out of a projected 2.8 million in science, engineering and math-related fields, that will require workers with a master's degree or higher

13%
Percentage of the
U.S. population that is
foreign-born, according to
the 2010 U.S. Census

Whether or not this trend holds, the U.S. has to deal with the workers who are already here. The most sensible solution would be to craft legislation that would deport those who have criminal records and give some kind of legal status to the others. The path to citizenship for these workers should properly be long, placing them behind regular applicants and visa holders, and could take 15 years, during which they would have to pay all their taxes and abide by all laws. That would allow a real re-

form of the system. We should sharply reduce the number of legal immigrants who arrive because they are sponsored by a family member. We should expand massively the number who come in because they have skills we need. We should recognize that certain indusworkers-farms in California, for example-and those industries could set up temporary-worker programs so crops can get picked during harvesting season. Ideally, such a bill would be bipartisan, sponsored by a prominent Democrat and an equally prominent Republican. Naturally, it should have the strong support of the President.

The tragedy, of course, is that we had such a bill. It was sponsored in 2005 by Senators John McCain and Ted Kennedy and strongly supported by then President George W. Bush. It did not even get to the floor of the Senate or House for a vote. The right hated it because it provided a

legal path for undocumented workers, the left because it reduced family unification. And the unions opposed the temporary-worker provisions.

In an earlier era, the fact that the more extreme wings

of the parties disliked the bill might actually have made passage easier, because that meant it was supported at the center, where the action lay. Today all the power has shifted to the wings of the two parties, who control their agendas. The failure of immigration reform is a metaphor for the breakdown of the political process. The simple fact is that in a counpeople, any policy is going to have opponents-not everyone agrees with you-but the opponents can now paralyze the process. So nothing gets done.

It's a sad state, because the U.S. remains a model for the world. It is the global melting pot, the place where a universal nation is being created. We may not do immigration better than everyone else anymore, but we do assimilation better than anyone else. People from all over the world come to this country and, almost magically, become Americans.

They—I should say uecome to the country with drive and dedication and over time develop a fiere love for America. This infusion of talent, hard work and patriotism has kept the country vital for the past two centures. And if we can renew it, it will keep America vital in the 21st century as well.



make much difference while the partisan standoff remains. Those who have hard-line views on this topic believe that immigration reform must start with taking control of the border through more stringent patrols, more effective fences and wider deportations like those that have been under way for years.

While the ideological bat the sover immigration persist, something strange has happened on the ground: Mexican immigration to America is slowing to a standstill. The Pew Hispanic Center released a report in April showing that net Mexican migration into the U.S .- those entering minus those going back to Mexico-is now zero and that the number of Mexicans going back might actually now be higher than the number entering. This trend might be partly a product of tougher enforcement, but it is most likely caused by economic weakness in the U.S. coupled with a striking decline in Mexican fertility rates (which is itself caused by more education and opportunities in Mexico).

NEWCOMERSTOWN OH COLUMBUS OHIO

CHARLESTON, W.V.

In Search of a Common Cause

In a bitter and divided era, national service can help us regain our lost consensus

ICHARD'S COFFEE SHOP and military museum in Mooresville, N.C., is a down-home place where veterans from all our modern wars gather most days to talk and feel comfortable in ways they only can among their fellow warriors. At the very beginning of my third annual U.S. road trip, on June 1, I had coffee with a bunch of them, assembled by Iraq veterans John Gallina and Dale Beatty. the founders of Purple Heart Homes, which builds houses for disabled veterans. That conversation set the tone for much of what has followed on my journey in ways that I couldn't have anticipated.

Most of those who spoke with me were Vietnam veterans, and they were not thrilled with the way the country was going. When I asked them how they'd rate Barack Obama as Commander in Chief, they started to laugh, which I thought was unfair and disrespectful. But it turned out they didn't have much use for Mitt Romney either, When Lasked them who the last President they liked was, it was unanimous: George H.W. Bush. "He's the last one who really served." said Larry Nosker, a retired truck driver and Air Force veteran. "Air National Guard reserve don't count."

It turned out that these vets. like many I've met, simply didn't trust anyone who hadn't been through boot campand so their pool of acceptable leaders was diminishing dramatically and their sense of alienation was increasing just as fast. Practically everyonewomen simply didn't make it onto their radar screen-had served in World War II. A lot of people had served in Vietnam. Fewer than 1% had served in Iraq and Afghanistan-and while they believed the new veterans might include some potential leaders, there still weren't nearly enough grownups to run a country. I asked if there was anything we as a nation could do about that. "Bring back the draft!" said Ray Pennipede, a former New York City police officer and member of the 1st Air Cavalry in Vietnam, without hesitation. There was applause. "There isn't an 18-year-old boy

who doesn't need to get his butt kicked," added Nosker, "by someone in a position of complete authority."

This theme kept coming up in meeting after meeting during my first five days on the road, though usually in less vivid fashion. I traveled through North Carolina and Virginia, both in areas of deep blue and crimson red, and it was clear neither side trusted the other very much. For the conservatives, the country had changed beyond their imagining; not just civil rights but gay rights (a contentious referendum recently



Pledmont stop Locals mingle at a strawberry social in Troy, Va.

banned gay marriage in North Carolina), and new ethnic groups that seemed foreignthe South Asians who all of a sudden seemed to run half the convenience stores, the Latinos who didn't seem to want to speak English. Why, even the President of the United States was something strange. neither black nor white. For liberals, it was all about intolerance. You couldn't have a half-decent conversation with these Tea Party people, they said. "My mouth is bloody." a woman from Smith Mountain Lake, Va., told me, "from biting my tongue all the time."

But we were all Americans, I'd remind both sides. How were we going to get to know each other better, find some common ground? And theneerily-someone would blurt it out: We need something like the draft. Maybe not military

service but public service. At a sunset meeting in the beautiful Inn at Montross, in Virginia, a retired FBI investigator named I.C. Smith said, "Too many people just live our lives in contact with a narrow sliver of people. Now, we can't bring back the draft-the military doesn't want it, and we don't need it. But some form of mandatory national service that throws people from different parts of the country together might help."

Bob Quinn, an audiovisual expert who'd moved to Virginia from the Northeast, quickly agreed: "I went to a private school where the students did all the cleanup work ourselves, except for the heavyduty plumbing and electrical work, and it created a real camaraderie. I just went to my 50th high school reunion, and that spirit was still there. And I'll tell you what else, we





Obamacare if he knew that the people receiving it had also served, in some way, like his Navy brothers? He nodded his head yes. I asked the addicts in the room about their responsibilities-not just to themselves but also to the communities they had burdened. "I would be happy to pay back with some sort of service," said Chris Phillips, 25, who may face a felony charge because of three DUI violations, "if I thought I could clean the slate and get accepted to Virginia Commonwealth University, despite my record."

I'm not sure that Kinum was

entirely convinced. And I'm not sure he should be. We

have drifted a long way from civic rigor in this country. We've had a period of intense prosperity and intense immigration and intense growth of government programs for those in need, followed by an economic crash. We don't know each other very well anymore, and it's hard to trust people you don't know. Throughout history, civilizations have built a common cause through coming-of-age rituals. But we don't do that anymore. Maybe we should think about that. It could be something as simple as kids' cleaning up their schools together, as Bob Quinn didyes, Newt Gingrich was right about that-or it could be fullcluding boot camp. But unless we start getting to know each other better, our chances of coming to a consensus about the important things we have

to do together as a nation are

going to be pretty slim.

didn't have very much destructive behavior or graffiti in our school, because we had to clean it up ourselves."

The other topic that kept coming up on the road was the Affordable Care Act-or Obamacare, if you must-but. oddly, it wasn't long before health care and national service converged in my mind in a completely unexpected way. I spent an evening at a successful recovery program in Richmond, Va., called the McShin Foundation, Most of the people around the table were recovering addicts. A woman named Tammie Noey, a former heroin addict who had

told her story. She started injecting herself when she was 9. She was 47 now, and clean for 21 months, and the only job she could get was as a waitress. But she had a friend who owned a farm and was willing to let her grow vegetables on part of it. She had pre-existing conditions as a result of her years of addiction: there was no way she could get health insurance. "I'm not in a position to have this bill shot down," she said. "If I break my toe and can't push the clutch pedal on the tractor. I'm done."

I asked if anyone around the table was opposed to Obamacare, "I am," said Terry Kinum, 69, a recovering alcoholic, retired from the Navy.

who now works with addicted veterans. "I'm sick and tired of all these welfare and socialist-type Marxist programs we're being inundated with." Others disputed that vehemently, and the situation threatened to get raw. But then I had a thought.

which had been percolating since my meeting with the veterans: I asked Kinum about the people he had served with. I asked if he trusted them. Well, of course. They had served and sacrificed together. "And you believe they have a right to health care, right?" Kinum started to get up in my face, but I was headed in a different direction: Would he have as much trouble with

done time in jail for a felony,

What Will Justice Kennedy Do?

The fate of Obamacare, gay marriage and other key cases rests with the straitlaced Sacramento native and his pragmatic take on the Constitution

By Massimo Calabresi and David Von Drehle



AT 6 A.M. IN THE NORTHERN VIRGINIA suburbs of Washington, when some Pentagon brass and White House aides are just rolling out of bed, Justice Anthony Kennedy is dressed in a well-cut suit and rolling down the driveway of his modest home. He is cautious at the wheel. Even when the streets and highways are empty, Kennedy obeys traffic laws. "He would never cross the street against a red light," says a former colleague. He arrives 30 minutes later at the imposing marble temple across the street from the Capitol. Designed to appear as ancient as democracy itself even though it was built in the 1930s, the Supreme Court building is a good fit for the deliberately old-fashioned Kennedy: he is a pragmatist from postwar America set down in the middle of a polarized age. A man sometimes maddening, sometimes self-important, other times subtle, always thoughtful. A relic of a time when open-mindedness was seen as a virtue in a judge-or anyone else, for that matter.

Kennedy's chambers reflect his fastidious and formal character. The walls are painted to complement works of art on loan from various Washington museums. Hisdeek is free of paper. Books line the walls. Here and there are nostalgic reminders of his home. Sacramento, including a miniature casting of the statue of a Pony Express rider that sits in the heart of the old gold rush city.

So much order and consistency, In his routine arrival at his pin-perfect office, there is little hint of the internal struggles that have marked Tony Kennedy's quarter-century on the nation's highest court, struggles that have left an outsize mark on American life and liberty. Over mark on American life and liberty. Over that time, Kennedy cast the pivotal vote to case dealing with abortion, the death in cases dealing with abortion, the death penalty, gay rights, the war on terrorism.

campaign finance and school prayer. This tall, thin man with clear blue eyes behind rimless bifocals is the decisive figure on a court that is otherwise divided between liberals and conservatives.

Beside a massive window overlooking the Capitol sits the small wooden table where Kennedy convenes his clerks to help him weigh his judgments. At that table, Kennedy has urged them to talk about what grounds he might cite to uphold Roe v. Wade. And what path would he take to strike it down? How would he justify allowing prayer at a public-school graduation ceremony? And what would be the strongest reasons for banning it? Does the Constitution protect the rights of homosexuals to engage in consensual sodomy in the privacy of their homes? And if it does, could a state get around that by outlawing sodomy among heterosexuals as well as homosexuals? The talk around the table can go on for hours-and even then, Kennedy sometimes concludes that he can't know if a decision is correct until he starts writing his opinion and sees what shape it takes.

Late in the afternoon, Kennedy usually leaves his chambers in time to beat the nightmarish Washington traffic, but he takes the struggle home with him and peppers the clerks with questions via his fax machine. After dinner with his wife, his hometown sweetheart from Sacramento's leafy and well-ordered Land Park neighborhood, the Justice returns to his briefs and precedents until 9 n.m., when he turns to nonlegal reading before bed time. Next morning, he is back at his desk,

On cases of great moment, the intellectual battlefield has shrunk to the space between Kennedy's ears giving scarcely any sign that he is closer to a decision.

This blend of modest routine and immodest power defines Kennedy. He can be shy and ill at ease—or testy and judgmental. Sometimes he pontificates, slowing his cadence for the atrical effect. Other times he speaks with the self-effacing reticence of a gental librarian. Kennedy enjoys telling a story about a group of tourists who stopped him one day on the gleaming steps of the court and asked him to take their photograph. Not one of them recognized their shutterbug as the most powerful judge in America. This may be Kennedy in full: he likes the anonymity, and he likes the power too.

It is easy to forget that there is still a wide range of issues before the Justices-dull but important matters like pension fund law, for example—that can be resolved amicably, without need for Kennedy's deciding vote. But on most case great moment, the intellectual battefield of the Supreme Court has shrunk to the space between this one man's ears.

And no case is of greater moment than the fate of President Barack Obama's signature health care reforms. With a decision expected before the court rises at the end of June, people close to Kennedy say the struggle this time centers on the question of whether Congress has the power under the Constitution to force millions of uninsured people to buy private insurance as a way of subsidizing coverage of Americans who are sick. While the Constitution gives Congress broad power to regulate commerce, this novel case asks whether the "individual mandate" goes a step too far by creating the commerce it seeks to regulate. On March 27, during the second day of argument, Kennedy put his uncertainties on display: A tax to fund health care could clearly be lawful, he observed. On the other hand, he continued, Congress seemed to cross a symbolic line by forcing people to buy something whether they wanted it or not. "I'm not sure which way the argument goes," he said

Efforts to fit Kennedy's major opinions into a clear, coherent philosophy have met with little success. He generally sides with the court's conservatives but is not tethered to any particular constitutional doctrine. "There is no grand unified theory for Justice Kennedy's jurisprudence," says Viet Dinh, a leading conservative court watcher whose law partner Paul Clement argued the case against Obamacare.

Middle Man

In his quarter-century on the bench,



So far in the the majority

PARENTHOO

Wade, the Justices standard for state abortion regulations burden on liberty

protects the "expressive message" the leaders. Kennedy Justices found

BUSH V. GORE

The court voted M stop the 2000 handing the press ment's guarantee of

ROPER V. SIMMONS

Drawing in part on foreign law. Kennedy found that executing criminals who were convicted as juve niles was cruel and

BOUMEDIENE V.

The court found designated enemy constitutional right to petition for a writ of habeas corpus

CITIZENS UNITED

The court ruled that barring corporations the principles of the







































OUTER











of age free to assume Roe's concept of

PRINCES OF THE PARTNERS OF CASE

KENNEDY'S MAJORITY OPINION, ROPER & SIMMONS

KENNEDY'S MAJORITY OPINION

Liberals are relieved there's one Repub-

This uneasy combination of pomp and pragmatism may not add up to a clear philosophy, but it is the product of a particular place and time. According to those who know him best, Kennedy represents the epitome of "a Sacramento person," in the words of his friend Joan Didion, a writer and frequent visitor to the Kennedy home when she was a girl. (The future lustice was the kid brother of her close friend Nancy.) The small-town capital of a state as limitless as all imagination, Kennedy's Sacramento was "a very reasonable place" with "reasonable values," she says. It was "a system that worked," in the words of journalist Lou Cannon, a California political insider who knew Kennedy's father. In the decades after World War II. the seat of California government was a basically nonpartisan community, dedicated to "problem solving" rather than finger pointing, Cannon says. The ad hoc approach to issues favored individual power brokers who could find the middle ground. The more it fades into history, the more it is remembered nostalgically as a can-do culture nestled in a Norman Rockwell frame, a place where everything seemed possible, at least to those in power, and nothing seemed to change. "I don't think he's ever wanted to leave Sacra-

Washington pols—Kennedy opened the door to the very super PACs that now seem hell-bent on proving him wrong.

mento in any real way," says Didion. "He wants that world in Sacramento whether it exists anymore or not."

Apprentice in the House of Warren

RENNED'S RATHER—ALSO NAMED ANTHON, though everyone called him Bul—was one of those men in the middle who made Sacramento hum. A lawyer and lobbyist by trade, Bud Kennedy built his family a new home in the state capital when little Anthony was 5 years old. A lifetime later, the Justice vividly recalls the day. He was bursting with excitement because Bud promised him a ride on the moving truck. They had just gotten under way when a neighbor rushed into the street, waving a dish towel to flag them down with urgent news. It was Dec. 7, 1941, and Pearl Harbor was in Hames.

The cataclysmic events that followed scarcely touched Kennedy's new world in Land Park, a neighborhood that his boyhood friends describe with words like iduplic and magical. He grew up watching The Lone Ranger and Red Ryder in 14¢ matinees at the Tower movie theater and walking with his brother and sister to

grade school a few blocks from home. He attended Mass on Sundays at the nearby Holy Spirit Parish church and romped with pals he remains close to more than

70 years later. There was swimming at the whitesonly Del Paso Country Club-except during the frequent and fearsome polio outbreaks-and the Kennedy home bustled with neighborhood children. Though the family wasn't exactly wealthy, there was plenty of money for "a drum set, pinball machine and a one-armed bandit. The whole thing was all devoted to stuff for the kids to do," says John Hamlyn, one of Kennedy's Land Park friends. The future Justice was no athlete and joked about being thin, says another of the gang, David Dozier, but there was nevertheless a closet full of bats and balls, and Bud hung a basketball hoop over the garage. In sum: "There were all kinds of horrible things going on in the world: World War II, the Korean War, McCarthyism, the atom bomb," recalls Joe Genshlea, a Kennedy friend. "But the life we led as kids was just great."

What he lacked in athleticism, the young Kennedy made up for in brains. "If



Deliberation theory Kennedy spends hours in his chambers reading briefs from his clerks and colleagues before making up his mind on cases

The irony of Artie Samish is that his reign was made possible, in large part, by good-government laws passed a generation before—laws designed to weaken the established political parties. Samish and the lesser lobby ists of Sacramento stepped into the vacuum to supply the networks that weak parties could not. They built coalitions.

This was Bud Kennedy's stock in trade. He drank often and with relish, played a mean game of poker and spat tobacco juice from the window of the family car, "which drove his wife nuts," Hamlyn says. Gladys "Sis" McLeod Kennedy was "quite a gal" herself, says Hugh Evans, a law partner of Tony Kennedy's before his Supreme Court appointment. A Stanford graduate, Kennedy's mother was always ready to throw open the house for Bud's clients, which included, over the years, the liquor and tobacco industries as well as the association of manufacturers. A lot of business got done on the back patio over highballs, and as Didion puts it, Tony Kennedy grew up around a dinner table where everyone "laughed and argued and interrupted."

Bud supplemented his son's public school training with an apprenticeship in political pragmatism. The youngest page eventually grew chummy with then governor—and future Chief fustice—Earl Warren. The boy absorbed the thousand little lessons that can be learned only inside city hall or a state legislature—not

speare. Didion admits there was a trace of pretentiousness about the boy, who was always the bright star in his mother's firmament. He could be judgmental in church. "Growing up, he was really super Catholic," says Hamlyn. "He and I were altar boys together, and I can't count how many times! would say something, and the wouldsay, "That's as in."

By fourth grade. Kennedy was so bored in school that his father brokered an astonishing arrangement to make him the state legislature's youngest page. If Bud

in school that his father brokered an astonishing arrangement to make him the state legislature's youngest page. If Bud Kennedy did not have enough pull of him own to make that happen, he had a colleague who certainly did. Artie Samish, the boss of Sacramento, was a huge man with an even bigger personality, a 300-pounder who knew how to throw his weight around and bragged that he controlled the California legislature like a purpet. And he did until the law caught up with him. Bud defended him in 1938. In the 'sos, Samish went to prison on taxevasion charges.

Tony has a persona, it's that he was a great

student," Genshlea says. "When we were

reading classic comics, he'd read Shake-

Tony Kennedy joked about being thin, but what he lacked in athleticism, he made up for in brains

just how a bill becomes law, but why this bill and not that one. Meanwhile, his father began pulling him out of school to assist him at counsel's table in courtrooms across Northern California. Sometimes Bud worried that his preceious son was too dutiful and orderly, and once he of fered the boy Stoo if he would do something to get himself arrested. No dice, By the time he graduated from high school at the top of his class. Kennedy had to trials under his belt, and his friend the former governor was immortalized as the author of Broun v. Beand of Education

The Man from Land Park

AMERICA'S BOOMING 1900S WEBE A GREAT time for bright young men to dream big and write their own tickets. But for Tony Kennedy the world of Sacramento seemed world enough. He followed the family path to Stanford, blazed through his undergraduate courses in three years, then heeded his father's advice to wait a year before enrolling at Harvard Law School. He spent a year in Europe at the London School of Economics. Within two years of earning his law degree, Kennedy was back home.

Bud had died suddenly, and with a certain inevitability, the son stepped into his shoes. He had married a Stanford-trained schoolteacher, as his father had done, and bought a house in Land Park Just Like Dad. He had his own two sons and a daughter, also like Bud, and took over his father's practice. With his falsetto laugh and penchant for quoting Shakespeare, the new Anthony Kennedy was a far cry from the tobacco-chewing version, but in other ways the DNA prevailed. His boyhood education was not wasted. Kennedy prospered as a lawyer and lobbyist.

as a lawyer and loopyist.

For Capitol Records, he drafted an exemption from certain sales taxes that the legislature approved, a bit of craftiness worth more than sr million to one company in the LP-crazed '60s. Kennedy was retained by the giant distiller Schenley has retained by the giant distiller Schenley handled out campaign contributions from some of his clients, a practice later banned in California, and he thrived, joining such exclusive cubas as the Del Paso Club, the Olympic Club in San Francisco and the Sutter Club, abook from the state capitol.

Land Park gave Kennedy a sense of security and confidence, his friends say, which reveals itself in his willingness to go his own way as a judge. "I think it

The Path To Power

Rockwell childhood lead to a seat on the Suprem



ca. 1939 With his mother Sis and older



ca. 1950s The Justice's father Bud Kennedy



ca. 1946 As a Cub Scout, left, with brother Tim



1954 The honorroll student in his graduation photo

affects him a lot," says Genshlea. "The secure background goes into his ability to speak his mind."

The lessons he learned as a working lawyer still feature prominently in his skull sessions with the clerks. Nearly every veteran of Kennedy's chambers interviewed for this article recalled the Justice's citing his experiences in front of a particularly disagreeable judger or intractable zoning board. This familiarity with local laws and concerns sets him apart on a court loaded with former government lawyers, law professors and appellate specialists. And it was, as things turned out, the key that eventually opened the door to the high court.

In 1967, a new governor named Ronald Reagan arrived in Sacramento, and soon Kennedy was doing assorted legal work for members of Reagan's staff. One thing led to another, and by 1973, with Reagan's eye on a higher prize, the smart and practical Kennedy was put in charge of drafting an amendment to the California constitution that would curtail the power of state government to tax and spend. This unsuccessful initiative, known as Proposition 1. nevertheless became a starred credential on Reagan's presidential résumé. In return, Governor Reagan arranged for Kennedy to be appointed to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals by then President Gerald Ford. At 38, Kennedy became the youngest Court of Appeals judge in the country.

Meanwhile, the boy who had been so bored in school became an enthusiastic teacher. In his constitutional-law classes at Sacramento's McGeorge School of Law, Professor Kennedy discovered a flair for the dramatic, For his lecture on the Fourth Amendment, which limits government powers of search and seizure, he arranged to have the chief of the campus police burst into the room and slap useffs on him. To mark the Constitution's bicentennial, he donned a powdered wig and adopted the guise of James Madros. Kennedy came to admire the charismatic and tireless dean of the school, Gordon Schaber.

It was Schaber's ambition to build McGeorge from a night school into an internationally respected institution. This he accomplished, with Kennedy's help, and in the process he made Kennedy a

Kennedy
was an
accidental
Justice,
Reagan's third
choice
after Bork and
Ginsburg

close friend. Somehow, without a word spoken on the subject, Kennedy came to understand that this friend was living the difficult secret life of a gay man in 1790 s America. "I don't see how it could not have some impact" on Kennedy's later ultings in favor of gay rights, says current McGeorge professor]. Clark Kelso, a former Kennedy clerk. Kennedy tries to reconcile the past with the future, says Didion, "while at the same time being full yawarethatit's a hard accommodation to make. And he knows that everything is not going to dowstall exactly."

In 1980, Kennedy's sister died of cancer, his mom followed the next year five
heart failure. Then soon after, his brother
Tim drowned in a surfing accident. In a
blur of grief, ads, Kennedy (ound himself
the lone survivor from that bustling hive
no East Lincoln Rather than sell the place
and efface its memories, he moved back into the house where he grew up. And it was
there that he was living when he got the
call from Ronald Reagan's White House:
in 1987 to be on the Supreme Court.

The Arbiter

KENNEDY WAS AN ACCIDENTAL JUSTICE, Reagan's third choice affer the controversial Robert Bork was blocked by Senate Democrats and Douglas Ginsburg, an appeals court judge, withdrew his nomination in a kerfuffic over past marijuana use. Kennedy had been a cautious judge on the Ninth Circuit, hewing closely to established doctrine. Cannon recalls meeting Kennedy at a party around the time of his nomination. Remarking on



1962 In the National Guard, right, at Fort Ord



1963 With Mary on their wedding day



ca. 1976
Teaching

the Bork fireworks, Cannon said he had been struck by the nominee's candor under questioning by hostile Senators. Kennedy's reply demonstrated precisely why the rattled Administration had turned to him. "Sometimes," he said smoothly. "you can be a little too candid." Those were the words of a man headed to a quick and unanimous confirmation. Kennedy's background and demeanor

suggested that he would not be much of a change from the man he replaced, the center-right lawyer from Richmond, Va., Lewis Powell. Broadly speaking, though, Kennedy has been more conservative than Powell, making him part of a strong rightward shift in the court that began with Richard Nixon, resumed with Reagan and continued under the Bushes. In his early years. Kennedy voted most often with the rock-ribbed Chief Justice William Rehnquist. But Kennedy's conservatism is a different species from the better-defined doctrines of Justices on the right like Antonin Scalia and Samuel Alito. Their search for the fixed and permanent meanings of the Constitution calls to mind the late William F. Buckley's notion of conservatives "standling athwart history, velling 'Stop.'" Kennedy, by contrast, has proved to be a cautious conservative who nonetheless believes that history moves forward and the Constitution must move with it. These two ideals-of preserving what is best about the past while making way for the future-frame many of the controversies that have come to define Kennedy's career as the least predictable member of the current court.

The 1991-92 term was a watershed. On two major cases, Kennedy's internal struggles to find the right balance led him to break with his fellow conservatives. He made 5-4 majorities in favor of further limiting school prayer and, still more momentous, entrenching the right to abortion. In both cases, he provoked scathing responses from the sharp-penned Scalia. who homed in on the lofty but untethered rhetoric that would become Kennedy's signature in difficult cases. Kennedy's ruling that a prayer at high school graduation violates the rights of nonbelieving students was "conspicuously bereft of any reference to history," Scalia complained. Even more irritating for Scalia was a purple passage

A cautious conservative, Kennedy believes that history, and the Constitution, move forward in the abortion opinion that conservative commentators would mock for the next zo years. "At the heart of liberty is the right to define one's own concept of existence, of meaning, of the universe, and of the mystery of human life," Kennedy wrote.

Apart from the vague verbiage, however, Kennedy's decisive opinion in
Planned Parenthod v. Casey announced the
young lustice's intention to be the court's
practical problem solver—and, by extension, grand arbiter of America's stickiest
issues. On one hand, he strengthened the
precedent of Roe: Wade by declaring that
aces to be settled law. Next, he replanted
the right to abortion in what he believed
to be a stronger pot. Instead of ground
ing abortion in a "right to privacy," which
is never mentioned in the Constitution,
Kennedy declared it to be part of the wellestablished right to liberty.

But then came a twist that would become apparent in the years that followed. When Kennedy and his colleagues said that this liberty could not be subjected to "undue burden[s]," he created room for future limitations on abortion rights, provided the burdens they placed on women's liberty were not "undue." Since then, Kennedy has given his majority making blessing to such limits as mandatory waiting periods and a ban on so-called partial birth abortion. Boiled down. Kennedy's abortion rulings have made the right to abortion both stronger and smaller-exactly the sort of give-a-little, take-a-little deal that pragmatists might have cut on a Sacramento patio back in the day. In this way, he meant to settle

Looming

The Justice will likely be an influential player in key upcoming constitutional battles

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suggests he may follow the world's lead in leniency for violent but young criminals.

Affirmative

Next term, the court will take up its latest affirmative-action cases, Fisher v. University of Teass. In 2003 cases, Fisher v. University of Teass. In 2003 Renardly states and the court up individual cases and the court up individual cases Parents Involved in Community School District, Kennedy wrote, v. Seattler School District, Kennedy wrote, and the court of the community school of the court of the cour

Same-Sex Marriage Reneady wrote the Marriage Reneady wrote the and scheduler for the same s

today may play a

the debate, yet society's argument over abortion rages on.

He seemed to have had something similar in mind in 2005, and again in 2008, when he used his decisive vote to outlaw the death penalty for minors who commit murder and for rapists of children. As with the abortion cases, Kennedy took command of a polarizing issue and tried to find middle ground. Once again, his approach drew fire from his conservative colleagues-especially when Kennedy cited laws from other countries to support his holding that "evolving standards of decency." Scalia again wrote the dissent. Kennedy's majority "proclaims itself sole arbiter of our Nation's moral standards," he sniffed, "and in the course of discharging that awesome responsibility purports to take guidance from the views of foreign courts and legislatures." Alexander Hamilton, Scalia implied, was rolling in his grave.

If Kennedy stuck to the middle in every hot case, he would be a much easier jurist to understand. But he doesn't, Consider his 2003 opinion in Lawrence v. Texas, a landmark gay-rights case. In striking down laws that banned homosexual sodomy. Kennedy declared that society cannot apply the moral judgments of the majority to the consensual sexual behavior of adults. In language sure to be quoted back to him when the question of gay marriage reaches the court this year or next, Kennedy wrote broadly, "Liberty protects the person from unwarranted government intrusions" and "includes freedom of thought, belief, expression, and certain intimate conduct." Justice O'Connor added a sixth vote to Kennedy's majority, but she declined to sign on to his sweeping declaration of bedroom liberty. Instead, she took a more moderate path, writing that states may criminalize sodomy as long as the law treats all citizens equally. She predicted that heterosexual voters would not support such bans if they were applied to everyone, and thus-given a bit of time and patience-elected lawmakers would find their way to the same end result that Kennedy sought. There was no need for a dramatic judicial intervention. O'Connor, a former state legislator, was content to let the pragmatism of voters chart the way forward, but in this case Kennedy preferred to follow his

own convictions regarding the nature of

The Fight for Kennedy's Favor

LIKE THE OTHER JUSTICES, KENNEDY RELIES on his clerks to help him think through decisions. The four young lawyers divide the term's cases and summarize each one in a short "bench memo" of two to 10 pages. As the day approaches when a case will be argued. Kennedy convenes his clerks at the table beside the window. "He wants to talk it over. He wants the roundtable," says one recent clerk, "He's actually there in the conversation, saving, 'I'm worried about this,' and 'What about this?" Kennedy keeps an easel with an oversize pad of paper handy, and on particularly complicated cases, the clerks will "try to write it out for him when he is trying to visualize it." Many clerks interviewed for this article can recall times when the entire table appeared to agree on the proper outcome, only to have the Justice decide the opposite, "You don't know how he's going to go," one recent clerk says.

Alex Kozinski, a former clerk who is now chief judge of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, says Kennedy's agonized thought process is a sign of openmindedness and empathy, not indecision. "It's getting fully into the mode of understanding the implications of an important decision," Kozinski says. Kennedy mulls not only the theoretical basis of a decision but also how it might play out in the real world. "His way of making up his mind in tough cases frequently was for him to try out an idea for size, like trying on a hat, you know," says Kozinski. "Wearing it for a day, saying, 'Well, maybe I don't look so good in a Stetson. I think I'll try a

sombrero instead." Given Kennedy's power, legal minds from across the political spectrum spend considerable time and effort to influence his choice of clerks each fall. Who sits at Kennedy's table, after all, could tip the scales of justice on any number of cases. The selection process seems as ungovernable as Kennedy himself. A panel of three former clerks prescreens the candidates. Often the screeners include Kozinski and another clerk from Kennedy's first year on the bench, Washington litigator Richard Willard. The screeners tend to lean in a conservative direction, but some how the Justice usually ends up with his clerks arrayed across the political spectrum. This term, he has two clerks who are said to be left of center, one moderate conservative and one who is more to the right. Two of the clerks formerly served One Event Can

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with lower-court judges who weighed the Obamacare cases as they rose through the appellate system. "With that spectrum, he's going to have all the arguments in front of him," a recent clerk says.

Lawyers also seek to sway the key Justice by crafting what are known as "Kennedy briefs"-arguments that borrow lavishly from Kennedy's prior rulings in hopes of striking a pleasing chord in the man from Sacramento. Often, these briefs are written by former Kennedy clerks. But no matter how thickly they stuff the briefs with Kennedy's own language, the outcomes remain unknowable. After all, this is a man who has been playfully dubbed "Flipper" by former law clerks, referring to the friendly dolphin in the 1960s sitcom. And echoing Kennedy is not always easy: he thinks he is a good writer (and so does Didion), but lawyers, who live and die by precision of thought. detest his flights of rhetoric and find it awkward to emulate them

Opponents of Obamacare focused their Kennedy briefs on a number of opinions in which he maintained the importance of limiting government intrusions into individual liberty. Kennedy has extolled the fact that the Constitution weakens the power of government by dividing it in two ways: the "horizontal" separation of federal powers among the three branches and also the "vertical" separation of federal authority and state authority. "Two governments accord more liberty than one," Kennedy wrote in a 1995 opinion agreeing that Congress overstepped its authority when it banned firearms near schools. Latching on to this idea, the attorneys argued that only states-not the federal government-have the authority to mandate the purchase of health insurance.

Defenders of the health care law, on the other hand, appealed to Kennedy by quoting another statement from the same opinion: "Congress can regulate in the commercial sphere on the assumption that we have a single market and a unified purpose to build a stable national economy." They also noted that as recently as 2005, he joined an opinion by former Justice John Paul Stevens that upheld very broad federal authority to regulate individual conduct under the Constitution's commerce clause. That case, Gonzales v. Raich, dealt with the government's prosecution of a California woman who grew her own marijuana and used it as a medicine in compliance with state law. Angel Raich did not purchase the dope, nor did she sell it, nor did she or the Is something wrong in a democracy when one person holds so much sway over so many?

marijuana ever leave California. Nevertheless. Kennedy agreed that the prosecution was a valid exercise of federal power over interstate commerce. A power as broad as that would surely allow Congress to require the purchase of health insurance, the pro-Obamacare lawers argued.

How will Kennedy come down on this one? It's possible that even his fellow Justices have no idea. Direct contact among the Justices is surprisingly limited. They prefer to communicate primarily by handwritten notes and e-mail. Most of their interaction comes during their high ly secretive weekly conference, when they express their initial positions on recently argued cases and begin the process of drafting opinions. "People may imagine the Justices having lengthy debates about the outcome," says former Kennedy clerk Bradford Berenson, but such exchanges are rare. The opinions expressed at conference don't often change, but Kennedy changes his mind more than most. In one famous incident, Scalia went for a walk with Kennedy before the Casev abortion case was decided and came away from their heart to heart discussion confident that they would vote together. The next day, Kennedy went the other way,

An Uncertain Justice

AS CONSEQUENTIAL AS THE HEALTH CARE decision will be, the role of Kennedy on the Supreme Court raises an even larger question. Is there something wrong in a democracy when one person holds so much sway over so many people? As year follows year and Kennedy remains

the one key vote, his power compounds. More and more cases are decided based on his idiosyncratic values, and those holdings become precedents that future courts must respectfully contend with.

But Kennedy is not the only person responsible for this state of affairs. He would not have his majority-making power if his eight colleagues were not so rigid in their views. And the eight would not be so adamant if the political parties had not decided over the past generation that only carefully groomed, philosophically pure ideologues should be placed on the high court. Like the rest of the government, the Supreme Court has become polarized, increasingly unable to rise to the American tradition of splitting the difference, finding a compromise, muddling through.

In the dueling opinions of the court's four Montagues and four Capulets, Amer ica's most contentious issues are often portrayed as simple matters of right and wrong. Scarcely a hint is ever given that reasonable people might disagree. Chief Justice John Roberts rang the gong of certainty in a 2007 case dealing with publicschool-desegregation plans. "The way to stop discrimination on the basis of race is to stop discriminating on the basis of race," he declared. Dissenting Justice Stephen Breyer was equally blunt from the other side of the ramparts: "This cannot be justified in the name of the Equal Protection Clause.'

By contrast, Kennedy's opinion in that case—like so much of his work-wrestled openly with the complications and nuanes of a tough call. The long and admirable effort to eliminate discrimination and segregation in American life has always been in tension with the nations' dideal of color blind equality in which no policies are based on skin pigment, he wore. And it will continue to be that way.

Didion says Kennedy gets wistful now and then about the life he left behind in Sacramento. "At my niece's wedding, he said to me, 'Everybody' I care about in this world is in this room. Give me a 5c stamp!"—a 1050s era way of saying you're ready to quity our job by mailing in your letter of resignation. Until he writes that letter and finds that stamp, hough, America will live with its uncertain Justice.—WTH RESEARCH BY SUSAN WELLL/NEW YORK

TO TRY TO READ KENNEDY'S MIND GO TO

EARLY SPRING WINTER 2011 FALL 2011 SUMMER 2011 The E. U. tries Cracks show to stem Greek The U.S. chugs in European banks. debt troubles, along, but income Euro-zone debt crisis heats up, Fears of transatlantic but borrowing in rich countries costs continue banking contagion is flat, unemployment Greek bond yields in Europe is up, rise, Fears grow to rise. MARKETS FALL. that the euro zone and growth will break apart. estimates for China are down. The ECB dumps Investors hope \$1.4 trillion into WORLD MARKETS decent growth the banking system, in U.S. and QUIETING MARKETS. emerging markets will help stave off a double dip. emerging-market Economists predict Greece growth and and possibly assurances from Angela Merkel Italy and Spain that Germany will exit the will work with euro zone. Greece to save the euro zone CALM WORLD MARKETS. WORLD MARKE Political turmoil in China heightens RECOIL, AND INVESTORS concerns about PULL BACK Social instability. FROM RISK

LATE SPRING 2012

No end in sight to European crisis unless Germany agrees to underwrite euro-zone debt.

In May the u.s. economy creates 70% fewer jobs than it did in January.

China launches)
massive new
stimulus
program
designed to
buoy growth.

WORLD

YOUR GLOBAL ECONOMIC MESS IS NOW BEING SERVED

Bad leadership and tepid tactics are cooking up a double dip. Come on, folks, get it together!

BY RANA FOROOHAR

IF THERE WERE AN OFFICIAL ANTHEM for the European debt reiss, it would be Lady Gaga's "Bad Romance," and not just because the pop star croons a few lines in French and chants the name of a continental capital. The once slow, now increasingly fast moving economic disaster unfolding across the Atlantic is best understood as a really, really dysfunctional relationship.

As Harvard economist Ken Rogoff puts it. "Europe is like a couple that wasn't sure they wanted to get married, so instead they decided to just open a joint checking account and see how things went." They went badly. Germany, the thrifty partner, is wringing its hands about how to handle the fact that its Meditertanean lover has drained the account and doesn't.

want to go on a budget. The southern European attitude is pretty well summed up in Gaga's lyric "I want your everything as long as it's free."

This bad romance will reach a turning point this summer as Europe finally decides whether it wants to break up or get married. But in the meantime, friends and family haven't been immune to the turmoil. The most recent, abysmal U.S. employment figures—about halfar smay jobs were created as was expected—were explained in part by the fact that big American companies have been hit by weakening growth in the euro zone, since sales there make up a significant chunk of their revenue. And in the U.S., Congress failed to come up with a growth plan after

the stimulus money ran out. There's also uncertainty about whether Europe's bank ing crisis will migrate to American shores. At the same time, the fast-growing emerging markets of China, India and Brazil that have buoyed the global economy over the past couple of years have started slowing down too, which has affected U.S. exports.

These three regions-the U.S., Europe and the emerging markets led by Chinamake up the legs of the stool that is the global economy. Since the financial crisis of 2008, we've dealt with two broken legs at once (the U.S. and Europe)-but not all three. That has economists very worried, so much so that some are saying there's a serious chance, perhaps as much as 40%, of a double-dip recession in the U.S. by year's end if things don't change. "Left to its own devices, the U.S. economy would continue to exhibit rather anemic growth and low job creation," says Mohamed El-Erian, head of Pimco, the world's largest bond trader. "But the stronger the ill winds [from abroad], the higher the risk of another recession."

Certainly, markets are roiled; the Dow lones industrial average regurgitated nearly 300 points, and European and Asian indexes plummeted. But within that turmoil, an important fact has gone largely undiscussed: this global slowdown is syn thronized in more ways than one. Not only are the fortunes of the world's major make tests and economies still very much tied together, but the root cause of their problems is the same dysfunctional politics.

There are economic solutions available that could calm markets and help countries avoid the risk of a double dip; what's lacking is the political will to implement them. Europe, for example, needs a real fiscal union, true political ties that bind and an effort by its strongest nation, Germany, to lead that process of deeper integration. So far that hasn't happened, and both Europe's politics and its financial system are balkanizing. "There hasn't been a Lehman moment," notes Mike Mayo, a banking analyst from CLSA, who famously called the last meltdown. The prospect of immediate catastrophe is often edifying. But without that, the response has been incremental and ineffectual. Greece totters. Spain withers. Italy dithers.

And growth in Asia is no longer a given to offset weakness in the rest of the world. China is trying to stick a finger in the dike with a new stimulus program to sustain growth till the end of the year, when new leadership will take chare of the Commu-

nist Party Polithuro in Beijing, But like the U.S. stimulus since 2009, it's quick fix: what's really needed in China is an entirely new growth model, one predicated on consumer, rather than government, spending. But the Chinese leadership, whose vulnerabilities have been exposed by the Bo Xilai scandal, is reluctant to rock the boat of vested economic interests. (Many of China's wealthiest families are tightly connected to the Communist Party, which is loah to derail the real estate boom that has made them rick communists.)

The U.S., for its part, has decent economic fundamentals-consumer debt is down, spending is up, the housing market is bottoming out, and a homegrown gas boom is creating jobs and will eventually make energy a lot cheaper. But then there is the partisan politics. Economists are already fretting over a fiscal cliff-hanger at the end of the year, when Bush-era tax cuts and payroll-tax cuts will expire at the same time Congress has to bicker about another raise to the debt ceiling. As Bank of America's Ethan Harris noted in a recent report, history will likely repeat itself with a policy-induced soft patch for a third year in a row, creating an economic drag that could shave an entire percentage point off GDP growth. It's still a 2% economy.

Omnishambles

IN EUROFE, WHERE RECESSION IS NOW baked in for 2012, 29% growth would elicit cheers. Chaos there is such that there's a new word, omnishamble, in the British lexicon to describe a situation in which an apparently carefully crafted policy stance unravels in a bewildering number of directions, leaving all affected parties in a state of shock and despair. During one particularly spirited parliamentary debate, British opposition leader £6 Miliband used the world to describe Frime

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THE FORTUNES
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THE SAME

Minister David Cameron's latest budget.

But it's perhaps better used to describe European efforts over the past two years to save the euro. The European crisis, said hedge-fund titan George Soros in a recent speech, is "not a financial but a political one." The crisis is growing not because of underlying, unsolvable economic issues but "because of a failure to understand the dynamics of social change" in Europenamely, that the half-measures of unity that worked when the euro was created in the boom days of 1999 became woefully inadequate once global growth ground to a halt nearly four years ago. Now it's every nation for itself, a scenario complicated by a shared currency.

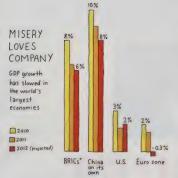
Germany, the strongest European Union economy, has been pilloried for its reluctance to back Eurobonds whose risk would be shared by euro zone members. The Germans are also taking heat for in sisting that debtor nations like Greece submit to backbreaking austerity budgets. But you can understand the German point of view—why give a blank check to spend thrift nations like Greece when you have no political control over how they spend it?

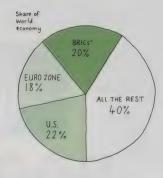
Yet the bottom line is that the halfmeasures have failed to settle markets and turned a debt snowball into an avalanche. Soon, Greece may vote to reject the next round of austerity, which would begin the dreaded "Grexit" from the euro zone. While that wouldn't be such a big deal, since Greece accounts for just 3% of the euro zone's GDP, Greece wouldn't go alone. Spain, which is 13%, is teetering too, as are Portugal and Italy. More important, investors have begun to understand that even a euro zone without its weakest members can't survive without real political integration. "Without that, the euro is just fundamentally unstable," says Rogoff.

The China Challenge

THE REALLY UNNERVING FEATURE OF THE global economy is that the emerging mar kets are slowing too. Even China, which has become a second global growth engine after the U.S. since the financial crisis, seems shaky. For the past two decades, investors have pretended that there was no political risk in the Middle Kingdom, but recent events have made it clear how wrong that assumption was. The fall of Bo—the former party head in the sprawling western Chinese city of Chongqing who has been accused of torture and whose wife is accused of murder—has set off a major political scandal in China set off a major political scandal in China







*Brazil, Russia, India and China Source IMF

and underscored how flawed the country's growth model is.

The Chongging model, which is the national norm, stresses hyperdevelopment of real estate and greater power for stateowned enterprises. It's fraught with vested interests, environmental degradation and growth that has been called "unsustainable" by the country's own Premier, Wen Jiabao, who has also warned that China is in for another Cultural Revolution if it doesn't embrace both economic and political reform.

That means not only raising Chinese salaries and encouraging consumers to spend but also giving a more entitled and educated middle class greater civil liberties. An odd turn of the market in early June highlighted the links between those two issues when the Shanghai stock index fell 64,89 points, a number recalling the date of the Tiananmen Square crackdown, June 4,1989. The event was picked up and used as a raillying point by democracy protesters online; government censors quickly swung into action and barred searching the topic.

But just as it's impossible to implement any real reform in an election year in the U.S., so it is in China. Worried about an abrupt slowdown that might create higher unemployment and social unrest before the new Politburo takes power, the Communist Party has introduced a new stimulus plan, one predicated mainly on the same old kind of growth. While there are few steps to boost private consumption—like a one-year scheme to subsdide the

purchase of energy efficient appliances it's mostly business as usual, with a lot of big infrastructure projects that are helping fuel a real estate bubble that makes Florida and Arizona look tame. Prospects that the Chinese economy will soon be put on a more ustainable, consumer-led footing look remote, "asys Capital Economics," ichief Asia economist, Mark Williams.

From Bad to Where?

THE MOST RATIONAL ACTORS IN ALL OF this may be the Americans, who have done a respectable job of getting their personal debt loads down since the financial crisis and have slowly begun spending again, which is one reason the U.S. economy is in better shape than Europe's. But that consumer recovery is still delicate, to say the least. And job growth is anemic, which restrains wage growth, so incomes are flat. According to the Economic Cycle Research Institute, income growth over the past three months has been lower than it was at the start of the past 10 recessions. That's what this "recovery" looks like. The result is that the U.S. economy is "as sensitive to external shocks as I can remember it ever being," says Jim O'Neill, Goldman Sachs' chief economist.

There will likely be plenty more shocks in the long, hot summer ahead. The next three months will bring a resolution, one way or another, to the euro-zone crisis. Soon, the Greeks will either vote to continue with austerity measures or else break from Europe, reissue the drachma and begin the first chapter of a new, volatile post, in the first chapter of a new, volatile post.

euro era. If that happens, the value of the euro and any new currency would surely plummet, and social unrest would soar.

European leaders are frantically working to come up with a last minute solution to avoid a Greek exit, a Spanish banking metdown and a broader euro breakdown, like allowing some bad European debt to spill over into a giant communal pool that might be paid at a later date. But markets aren't buying it, I'vs clear that they want a guarantee that Germany and the Bundesshak (via the European Central Bank) will write a very large check to cover whatever the bad debt of Europea Unservator to be.

The Germans in turn, want assurances that they'll have some control over how their neighbors spend in the future—assurances that have become trickier since François Hollande won the French presidential election and made it clear that France isn't keen to give up its fiscal independence. Most economists, spooked about another Lehman event, are holding out hope that European leaders will come to some sort of epiphany and get their act together to save the euro.

As Lady Gaga might sing in her best French, Faite so give. Place your bets. The 2% economy is looking like the best case scenario for the U.S. this year. If Europe fails to step up to its crisis, the consequences will be much, much worse. "If the euro falls apart, the U.S. would go into a double dip, and it wouldn't be a small one," warns Rogolf, sharing the consensus view. As everyone knows, the only thing worse when the property of the consensus view. As everyone knows, the only thing worse.



ROCKET MAN

Billionaire Elon Musk is getting America back in the space game



Musk launched a 50-lb. wheel of cheese into space. Really.

Musk was preparing for the first orbital test of his brandnew Dragon spacecraft atop his brand-new Falcon o rocket. and it seemed a shame to send the ship up empty. So he drove to nearby Beverly Hills, Calif., and bought the biggest piece of cheese he could find: then he and a few of his engineers at the Space Exploration Technologies Co., or SpaceX, rigged it into place inside the capsule and sent it off. The Dragon made it into orbit and came home safelybecoming the first vehicle launched by a private company to achieve such a feat-and today the cheese (an earthy Le Brouère, in case you were wondering) rests in a display case just off the factory floor of the SpaceX facility in Hawthorne. The Soviets had Laika the dog. The U.S. had Ham the chimp. Musk has his wheel of space cheese.

Last month Musk had much more serious business on his mind. Another Dragon spacecraft was flying, this one to deliver half att not of provisions and equipment to the International Space Station (ISS). The ship launched successfully on May 22 and, in another first for the private sector, docked with the station three days later. On May 31, Dragon came home, landing in the Pacific Ocean off Baja California, precisely on target and two minutes ahead of schedule.

"Splashdown successful!!" announced Musk via Twitter from his front-row seat in his own mission control inside the 50,000-sq.-ft. SpaceX factory. "Sending fast boat to Dragon."

Never mind the giants of NASA's magnificent past, men with jet fuel in their blood who over just eight years in the 1960s guided the U.S. from a standing start to the surface of the moon. One of the biggest players in the American space program today is a 4-year old South AF rican entrepreneur with undergraduate degrees in physics and business from the University of Pennsylvania, a background in e-commerce and not a lick of formal training in aerospace engineering.

training in aerospace engineering.
But here's what Musk does have: 1,800
employees, birds on the pad and billions of
dollars in contracts to launch payloads for
customers around the world—including
NASA. Other aerospace companies
launch payloads for profit too, but

those payloads are all satellites that

need only to be trucked to orbit.

Musk has both his own fleet of rockets and his own working spaeccraft: a navigable, habitable machine designed to fly and maneuver and dance and dock and hold an atmosphere and support a crew—and travel not just in orbit but into deep space.

"It has a new-car smell," said astronaut Don Pettil afree Tragen docked with ISS and he opened the hatch and peered inside. Very soon, that car got sold. "We be came a customer today," announced Alan Lindenmoyer, manager of NASA's commercial crew and cargo program, after the Dragon splashed down safely, Little won deer. Spacek, a mere corporation, had just accomplished something only sovereign nations had done before.

Musk has been compared to Tony Stark-the brilliant industrialist and inventor who, in his off-hours, becomes Iron Man-and the SpaceX factory has even been used as a set in one of the Iron Man movies. The comparison-with the exception of the costumed-superhero part-is not entirely unapt. Musk's business plan was not supposed to work, and yet it does. His spacecraft were not supposed to fly, and yet they do. What Bill Gates was to the operating system and Steve Jobs was to sleek, ingenious and elegant design, Musk may be to rockets. That's starting to look like a very good thing for America's future in space, and never mind any faux humility. Musk himself will tell you so.

"In terms of things that are actually launching," he says, "we are the American space program."

Insanely Great 2.0

THE FIRST MISTAKEL MADE WHEN I VISITedd Musk in his Hawthorne office was to
touch the very big sword on his desk—or at
least touch it the wrong way. The sword had
been awarded to him a few months before
by the Heinlein Society, named after legendary science fiction writer Robert Heinlein. Musk is proud of the sword, but when
he handed it to me to examine, I grabbed it
partly by the blade. That leaves fingerprints, and finger-prints carry oil, and oil
spoils the finish. He quickly called to an
assistant for a cloth to restore the shine.

Musk is not so much fastidious as he is contained. His speaks with the kind of quiet intensity that, when it comes from someone who corners you at a party, can cross the line into crazyland. From Musk

it just seems well thought out and deeply felt. His extremely uncluttered desk is in a large corner cubicle in a vast plain of cubicles in



what was once an assembly factory for Boeing aircraft fuselages. A few people at SpaceX have offices with doors financial guys or engineers working on extremely proprietary designs—but the CEO doesn't.

Pictures of Musk's five young sonsa set of triplets and a set of twins—hang above the desk. The boys are the product of his first marriage, to lustine Musk, author of BloodAngel and other fantasy books. His second marriage, to British actress Talulah Riley ended this year. Musk tweeted about that too: "It was an amazing four years. I will love you forever. You will make someone very happy one day."

Musk also keeps a small collection of books on his desk—a sort of autodidact's guide on how to build rockets: Huzel and Huang on the fundamentals of liquid propellants, Sutton and Biblarz on propulsion elements, J.E. Gordon's Structures: Or Why Things Don't Fall Down. Next to them is one other book. Einstein, by Steve Jobs biographer Walter Steascosn. It's not clear which, if either, of Isaacson's subjects Musk sees himself in. Maybe both.



Musk is neither shy nor boastful about being self-taught in a field he means to lead. Rather, spelunking for knowledge on his own seems to be a matter of mere efficiency, "I find universities a very slow place to learn things," he says. Born in South Africa, he moved to Canada-his mother's home country-when he was in his teens. He attended Queen's University before switching to Penn in 1992 and graduating with his double major. Unmoved by the undergraduate experience, he gave formal education a last chance in 1995, enrolling in a Stanford University Ph.D. program in physics and materials sciences. He dropped out after two days.

Musk's taste for learning things independently has been a pattern since way back. Like innumerable small boys, he first got bitten by the space bug when he built and launched model rockets. Unlike most boys, he did not build them from kits. Instead he designed his rockets from the fins up and powered them with fuel of his own devising.

He grew up with a respect—sometimes grudging—for Russia's and America's

High-altitude handshake
The Dragon spacecraft, gripped by the

The Dragon spacecraft, gripped by the space station's manipulator arm before the two vehicles docked

historic lineups of rockets and can tick them off with a somelier's familiarity. "The Saturn 5 is hard to beat," he says. "The Titan 2 is impressive from a mass-fraction point of view. The Soyuz is not a great design, but it's been around a long time and they've optimized the heck out of it."

But his talent with computers, including writing code, is a far easier skill to
monetize, and he became caught up in the
dottom boom—a move that would, in
won way, lead him back to spade. In 1si
so he founded X com, a little-known onlineapyment company that, after some acquisitions and expansions, became PayPal. a
uery well-known online payment company. In 2002 he sold PayPal to eBay for
\$1.5\$ billion in stock, and in the years that
followed he rolled his fortune into three
other start-ups: SpaceX in 2002; Tesla Motors, which manufactures electric cars, in

2003; and SolarCity, which markets solarenergy systems, in 2006. All three are going concerns, but it was SpaceX that was destined to become a game changer, thanks in part to NASA's well-documented woes.

Barely a year after SpaceX was founded, the shuttle Columbia disintegrated during re-entry, eliminating any doubt that the shuttles, while beautiful, were a fragile, rococo, temperamental mess. In early 2004, President George W. Bush announced that the remaining fleet would be retired by 2010 and that NASA would return to its Apollo roots, building old-style expendable spacecraft. But the new program would have to be implemented by the same ossified NASA bureaucracy and funded by the same obstreperous bunch in Congress, and the whole enterprise soon fell back into the familiar lather-rinse repeat pattern of overpromising and underdelivering, too little funding and too much infighting.

By 2006, the space agency had faced reality and announced that it was estab lishing the Commercial Orbital Transportation Services (COTS) program, under which it would let the private sector take over the business of making taxi runs to low Earth orbit, freeing NASA to focus on missions to the moon, asteroids or Mars.

SpaceX and several other companies leaped at the news. The likes of kichard Branson, Paul Allen and Burt Rutan aleady had a head start in space-tourism ventures, offering suborbital joyrides to wealthy customers who could afford a six figure, zo minute vacation. But COTS would mean playing with the big boys, using real rockets to put real spacecraft into orbit—and perhaps beyond—and doing real work there.

By 2008, NASA had selected two winners in the COTS competition: Space2, which would be awarded a \$1.6 billion contract to make: 2.7 trus to the ISS from 2021 to 2015, and Orbital Sciences, a Virginia company that would get essentially the same deal. NASA was happy to work with both—but both would first have to prove they could build and fly the promised machines.

Musk staffed up fast, hiring from the industry, engineering schools and NASA itself, quickly filling the first floor of the factory. T came to SpaceX in March of 2011, "asy Carrett Reisman, a former astronaut and veteran of two shuttle missions who is now a senior engineer for the company, "and I'm already senior to 20% of the staff in terms of loneevity."

Musk gave the SpaceX headquarters a deliberately Silicon Valley feel. The most centrally located spot in the building with the factory floor to your left, the vast warren of offices to your right and the glassed-in mission control directly in front of you—was chosen as the perfect place to build a frozen-yogurt station. "I like the randomness of it." Musk says. "A frozenyogurt bar in a rocket factory."

There's whimsy in the booster and spacecraft names too. The Falcon rocket is named after Han Solo's Millennium Falcon; the Dragon is named after Puff, the spacecraft's reportedly magical cousin. "I had planned to call it Magic Dragon." says Musk. The unlikely cargo that flew in 2010 was a tribute to the famed Monty Python sketch about a cheese shop that has no cheese.

The Simplicity Doctrine

BEHIND ALL THE PLAYFULNESS, HOWEVER, is some hardheaded engineering. Musk may or may not emulate Steve Jobs, but he has a Jobsian respect for simplicity. SpaceX builds three different rockets: the Falcon, with one engine, known as the Merlin; the Falcon 9, with nine Merlins; and the still-in-development Falcon Heavy, which will have three side-byside clusters of the same nine. That tall-grande-venti lineup is a lot easier to manage than NASA's hodgepodge of multiple boosters from multiple suppliers with the dinosaurically strange shuttle atop them all. Reisman speaks fondlyand diplomatically-of his NASA career, but he appreciates the difference in engineering philosophy at his new gig. "People ask how it's possible to be safer but also more cost-effective," he says. "It's possible because complexity is the enemy of both."

SpaceX simplifies things in a lot of ways. The engines, for example, are built with improved cooling systems that let them run at lower temperatures, which allows then to be built of less exotic metals. The manned version of the Dragon will have an emergency system that will allow the crew vehicle to pop free and fly

'THE BUREAUCRACY
HERE IS DIFFERENT. IF YOU
WANT TO CHANGE SOMETHING
OR FIX SOMETHING, JUST
TALK TO ELON.'

-TOM MUELLER, SPACEX DIRECTOR OF PROPULSION SYSTEMS

away from a Falcon booster that's about to blow—but the escape rockets will be built around Dragon's bottom, a simpler arrangement than the rocket tower that was boiled atop the old Apollo craft to do the same job.

"The number of major events that have to go right for a crew to survive an emergency on the Dragon is about half as many as with the shuttle," says Reisman.

The simplicity extends to SpaceX's policy on outsourcing-or the relative absence of it. The company keeps 80% of its manufacturing in-house, leaning on subcontractors only when absolutely necessary. That's something NASA can't do-not with 100 Senators and 435 Representatives clamoring for a slice of space pork to take home to their constituents. Scattering bits of work all over the country is a great way to make a project unkillable but a terrible way to make it cost-effective. "The bureaucracy here is different," says Tom Mueller, SpaceX's director of propulsion systems. "If you want to change something or fix something, just talk to Elon. It keeps the signal-to-noise ratio high."

In the Pipeline

DRAGON'S NEXT FLIGHT, ANDTHER ISS REsupply mission, is scheduled for this fall and will be launched on another Falcon 9. The Falcon Heavy could fly as early as next year. That would increase the amount of hardware SpaceX can put into low Earth orbit from a respectable 23,000 lb. to a whopping 117,000 lb. Also close to emerging from the pipeline is the crew-rated version of the Dragon.

After the Dragon's first flight, in 2010, Musk took some heat for declaring, "If there had been peoplesitting in Dragon to-day, they would have had a nice ride." That was something of an overstatement, considering the spacecraft had (and still has) no seats, instrument panel, crew-rated air pressure system or carbon dioxide scrubbers. But all of that is in the works. The goal ist obe ready to fly acrew in 2014.

Should that come of ras planned, Musk will offer his people carrying services not just to NASA but to other countries too, barring national-security issues. He'd also like to claim some of the business NASA has been losing in recent years. Russis charged the U.S. upwards of syo million per seat to launch American astronauts to the ISS, once the shuttles stood down, a price hike was announced, to nearly 650 million. "We can repatriate some of that money," says Musk.

He'd be happy to carry private citizens as well and is careful not to disparage the efforts of Branson and the like, since customers who get a taste of suborbital flight and enjoy it may re-up for an orbital trip with SpaceX. Ultimately, Musk would like to be able to get people to and from Mars for about \$500,000 per seat. No one, however, should expect to see the SpaceX chief himself going aloft anytime soon. "I would like to go to space, but I have to forgot hat," Musk says, citing the five sons and three companies he must look after. "I have to be careful with personal risks."

SpaceX could still stumble-and stumble badly. Traveling in space will never be easy, and terrible things can always happen. The Apollo 1 spacecraft was not supposed to burst into flames and kill its crew-until it did; a one-in-abillion multiple-system failure was never supposed to occur on Apollo 13, and that happened too. Orbital Sciences, Musk's main competitor, has its own test flight scheduled for later this year, and the company did not earn a COTS contract by accident. It's been around longer than SpaceX and has already established its ability to launch satellites. A success or two for Orbital coupled with a setback or two for SpaceX could change things completely.

Musk could also get tripped up by his hubris. He's become more press savvy lately, effusively thanking NASA for its support of SpaceX and taking are not to overstate his successes as he's done in the past. But his humility goes only so far. He has claimed almost no patents on his rock et systems because he believes he's so far ahead of the held that no one would be able to copy him anyway. "Elon's philosophy is, just move fast enough that no one catches you," says Mueller. That's a nice idea—unless someone actually does catch you unless someone actually does catch you unless someone actually does catch you."

None of this discourages Musk. Human beings belong in space, he believes, and not just dog-paddling in low Earth orbit. On an otherwise empty wall in the Space Offices is an oversize picture of Mars. It's there as inspiration—and destination. "I believe," says Musk, "that I have a design in mind that would enable the colonization of Mars."

Self-delusion? Maybe. Cockiness? Surely. But as Hall of Fame pitcher Dizzy Dean of the old St. Louis Cardinals once said, "It ain't bragging if you can back it up," Muski shardly ready togo to Mars yet, but he took a significant step off the Earth last month. For now, at least, the bragging rights are all his.



"After 6 weeks on an antidepressant, I was still struggling with my depression. So I talked to my doctor."

If you've been on an antidepressant for at least 6 weeks and are still struggling with depression, having ABILIFY® (aripiprazole) added to your antidepressant may help with unresolved symptoms as early as 1-2 weeks.*

ABILIFY is a prescription medicine used to treat depression in adults as add-on treatment to an antidepressant when an antidepressant alone is not enough.

Important Safety Information

Elderly patients with dementia-related psychosis (eg, an inability to perform daily activities due to increased memory loss) taking ABILIFY have an increased risk of death or stroke. ABILIFY is not approved for treating these patients.

Antidepressants can increase suicidal thoughts and behaviors in children, teens, and young adults. Serious mental illnesses are themselves associated with an increase in the risk of suicide. When taking ABILIFY call your doctor right away if you have new or worsening depression symptoms, unusual changes in behavior. or thoughts of suicide. Patients and their caregivers should be especially observant within the first few months of treatment or after a change in dose. Approved only for adults 18 and over with depression.

- · Call your doctor if you develop high fever, stiff muscles, confusion, sweating, changes in pulse, heart rate and blood pressure, as these may be signs of a condition called neuroleptic malignant syndrome (NMS), a rare and serious condition that can lead to death
- . If you have diabetes or have risk factors or symptoms of diabetes, your blood sugar should be monitored. High blood sugar has been reported with ABILIFY and medicines like it. In some cases, extremely high blood sugar can lead to coma or death
- · Changes in cholesterol and triglyceride (fat, also called lipids) levels in the blood have been seen in patients taking medicines like
- . You and your doctor should check your weight regularly since weight gain has been reported with medicines like ABILIFY

*Based on 6-week clinical studies comparing ABILIFY + antidepressant versus antidepressant alone

- . If you develop uncontrollable facial or body movements, call your doctor, as these may be signs of tardive dyskinesia (TD). TD may not go away, even if you stop taking ABILIFY. TD may also start after you stop taking ABILIFY
- . Other risks may include lightheadedness upon standing, decreases in white blood cells (which can be serious), seizures, trouble swallowing, or impairment in judgment or motor skills. Until you know how ABILIFY affects you, you should not drive or operate machinery

The common side effects in adults in clinical trials (≥10%) include nausea, vomiting, constipation, headache, dizziness, an inner sense of restlessness or need to move (akathisia), anxiety, insomnia and since there are some risks for drug interactions. You should avoid

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch, or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

Please read the additional Important Information about ABILIFY on the adjacent page.

Ask your doctor about the option

Learn about a FREE trial offer' at ABILIFYStartingOffer.com or 1-800-865-2208

Bristol-Myers Squibb PATIENT ASSISTANCE FOUNDATION This non-profit organization provides assistance to qualifying patients with financial hardship who generally have no prescription insurance. Contact 1-800-736-0003 or

Bristol-Myers Squibb Olssisker Olsuka America Phatmaceutical, Inc

ABILIFY® (a BIL i fi) B ONLY (aripiprazole)

This summary of the Medication Guide contains risk and safety information for patients about ABILIFY. This summary does not include all information about ABILIFY and is not meant to take the place of discussions with your healthcare professional about your treatment. Please read this important information carefully before you start taking ABILIFY and discuss any questions about ABILJFY with your healthcare professional

What is the most important information I should know about ABILIFY?

Serious side effects may happen when you take ABILIFY,

· Increased risk of death in elderly patients with dementia-related psychosis:

Medicines like ABILIFY can raise the risk of death in elderly people who have lost touch with reality (psychosis) due to confusion and memory loss (dementia). ABILIFY is not approved for the treatment of patients with dementia-related psychosis.

· Risk of suicidal thoughts or actions: Antidepressant medicines, depression and other serious mental illnesses, and suicidal thoughts or actions:

Antidepressant medicines may increase suicidal thoughts or actions in some children, teenagers, and young adults within the first few months of treatment. Depression and other serious mental illnesses are the most important causes of suicidal thoughts and actions. Some people may have a particularly high risk of having suicidal thoughts or actions including people who have (or have a family history of) bipolar illness (also called manic-depressive illness) or suicidal thoughts or actions.

How can I watch for and try to prevent suicidal thoughts and actions in myself or a family member?

- · Pay close attention to any changes, especially sudden changes, in mood, behaviors, thoughts, or feelings. This is very important when an antidepressant medicine is
- started or when the dose is changed. · Call the healthcare provider right away to report new or sudden changes in mood, behavior, thoughts, or feelings. . Keep all follow-up visits with the healthcare provider as scheduled. Call the healthcare provider between visits as

needed, especially if you have concerns about symptoms. Call a healthcare provider right away if you or your family member has any of the following symptoms, especially if they are new, worse, or worry you:

. thoughts about suicide or dving, attempts to commit suicide, new or worse depression, new or worse anxiety. feeling very agitated or restless, panic attacks, trouble sleeping (insomnia), new or worse irritability, acting aggressive, being angry, or violent, acting on dangerous impulses, an extreme increase in activity and talking (mania), other unusual changes in behavior or mood.

What else do I need to know about antidepressant medicines?

· Never stop an antidepressant medicine without first talking to a healthcare provider. Stopping an antidepressant medicine suddenly can cause other symptoms

· Antidepressants are medicines used to treat depression and other illnesses. It is important to discuss all the risks of treating depression and also the risks of not treating it Patients and their families or other carenivers

should discuss all treatment choices with the healthcare provider, not just the use of antidepressants · Antidepressant medicines have other side effects. Talk

to the healthcare provider about the side effects of the medicine prescribed for you or your family member · Antidepressant medicines can interact with other medicines. Know all of the medicines that you or your family member takes. Keep a list of all medicines to show the healthcare provider. Do not start new medicines without

first checking with your healthcare provider. · Not all antidepressant medicines prescribed for children are FDA approved for use in children. Talk to your child's healthcare provider for more information.

What is ABILIFY (aripiprazole)?

ABILIFY is a prescription medicine used to treat · major depressive disorder in adults, as an add-on

treatment to an antidepressant medicine when you do not get better with an antidepressant alone.

The symptoms of major depressive disorder (MDD) include feeling of sadness and emptiness, loss of interest in activities that you once enjoyed and loss of energy, problems focusing and making decisions, feeling of worthlessness or guilt, changes in sleep or eating patterns, and thoughts of death or suicide.

What should I tell my healthcare provider before taking ARII IFY?

Before taking ABILIFY, tell your healthcare provider if you have or had:

- · diabetes or high blood sugar in you or your family, your healthcare provider should check your blood sugar before you start ABILIFY and also during therapy.
- · seizures (convulsions).
- · low or high blood pressure. · heart problems or stroke.
- · pregnancy or plans to become pregnant. It is not known if ABILIFY will harm your unborn baby.
- · breast-feeding or plans to breast-feed. It is not known if ABILIFY will pass into your breast milk. You and your healthcare provider should decide if you will take ABILIFY or breast-feed. You should not do both · low white blood cell count.
- · phenylketonuria. ABILIFY DISCMELT Orally Disintegrating Tablets contain phenylalanine.
- · any other medical conditions.

Tell your healthcare provider about all the medicines that you take or recently have taken, including prescription medicines, non-prescription medicines, herbal supplements. and vitamins

ABILIFY and other medicines may affect each other causing possible serious side effects. ABILIFY may affect the way other medicines work, and other medicines may affect how ARIJ IFY works

Your healthcare provider can tell you if it is safe to take ABILIFY with your other medicines. Do not start or stop any medicines while taking ABILIFY without talking to your healthcare provider first. Know the medicines you take. Keen a list of your medicines to show your healthcare provider and pharmacist when you get a new medicine.

How should I take ABILIFY?

- . Take ABILIFY exactly as your healthcare provider tells you to
- take it. Do not change the dose or stop taking ABILIFY yourself. . ABILIFY can be taken with or without food.
- · ABILIFY tablets should be swallowed whole . If you miss a dose of ABILIFY, take the missed dose as soon
- as you remember. If it is almost time for the next dose, just skip the missed dose and take your next dose at the requiar time. Do not take two doses of ABILIFY at the same time.
- . If you take too much ARII IFY call your healthcare provider or poison control center at 1-800-222-1222 right away, or go to the nearest hospital emergency room.

What should I avoid while taking ABILIFY?

- . Do not drive, operate heavy machinery, or do other dangerous activities until you know how ABILIFY affects
- you. ABILIFY may make you drowsy
- . Do not drink alcohol while taking ABILIFY.
- · Avoid getting over-heated or dehydrated. . Do not over-exercise.
- . In hot weather, stay inside in a cool place if possible.
- . Stay out of the sun. Do not wear too much or heavy clothing. · Drink plenty of water.

What are the possible side effects of ABILIFY? Serious side effects have been reported with ABILIFY including:

· Neuroleptic malignant syndrome (NMS): Tell your healthcare provider right away if you have some or all of the following symptoms: high fever, stiff muscles, confusion, sweating, changes in pulse, heart rate, and blood pressure. These may be symptoms of a rare and serious condition that can lead to death. Call your healthcare provider right away if you have any of these symptoms.

· High blood sugar (hyperglycemia): Increases in blood sugar can happen in some people who take ABILIFY (aripiprazole). Extremely high blood sugar can lead to coma or death. If you have diabetes or risk factors for diabetes (such as being overweight or a family history of diabetes). your healthcare provider should check your blood sugar before you start ABILIFY and during therapy

Call your healthcare provider if you have any of these symptoms of high blood sugar while taking ABILIFY:

. feel very thirsty, need to urinate more than usual, feel very hungry, feel weak or tired, feel sick to your stomach, feel confused, or your breath smells fruity.

- . Increase in weight: Weight gain has been reported in patients taking medicines like ABILIFY, so you and your healthcare provider should check your weight regularly. For children and adolescent patients (6 to 17 years of age) weight gain should be compared against that expected
- with normal growth
- . Difficulty swallowing: may lead to aspiration and choking.
- . Tardive dyskinesia: Cali your healthcare provider about any movements you cannot control in your face, tonque, or other body parts. These may be signs of a serious condition. Tardive dyskinesia may not go away, even if you stop taking ABILIFY. Tardive dyskinesia may also start after you stoo taking ABILIFY.
- · Orthostatic hypotension (decreased blood pressure): lightheadedness or fainting when rising too quickly from a sitting or lying position
- . Low white blood cell count
- · Seizures (convulsions) Common side effects with ABILIFY in adults include

nausea, inner sense of restlessness/need to move (akathisia), vomiting, anxiety, constipation, insomnia, headache, restlessness dizziness These are not all the possible side effects of ABILIFY. For more

information, ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist. Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. Your may report side effects to FDA III 1-800-FDA-1088.

General information about ABILIFY

- . Store ABILIFY at room temperature, between 59°F to 86°F. Opened bottles of ABILIFY Oral Solution can be used for up to 6 months after opening, but not beyond the expiration date on the bottle. Keep ABILIFY and all medicines out of the reach of children. · Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other
- than those listed in a Medication Guide. Do not use ABILIFY for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give ABILIFY to other people, even if they have the same condition. It may harm them. . This summary contains the most important information
- about ABILIFY. If you would like more information, talk with your healthcare provider. For more information about ABILIFY visit www.abilify.com.

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Filmmaking duc and real-life coup Zoe Lister-Jones and Daryl Wein PAGE 58

The Culture

52 POP CHART Hologram resurrections!/**54 SPORTS**Golf's greatest stuntman/**58 MOVIES** The *l the Wirsts*home team/**60 TUNED IN** The Baby Bjorn generation

Photograph by Law Townshow for TIN

Pop Chart



SPELL-CHECK EDITION

GOOD WEEK/

Snigdha Nandipati Correctly spelled guetapens to win the Scripps National Spelling Bee.

Mitt Romney Championed "A Better Amercia" on his With Mitt mobile app.



Cry Me a Condiment

Financiasting transfer on self-seniors transfer on the seniors transfer of the seniors of the se



FEMMES FATALES Helmut Newton's striking black-and-white portrayals of couture-clad and nude women—on display through Nov. 18 in his hometown of Berlin—startled the fashion world in the mid-190s. Now, similar images are de rigueur on the pages of Vogue. The first million is the hardest.

TWEET VS. TWEET Drake ranging who his soft retied 1 from the land

Soft retired. I beam Period 18 Me Special obligations of Phase sets the major of Parties, the Justice of

The first billion is a helluva lot harder.

@boonepickens just stunted on me heavy.



They're Baaaaack

All the world's a stage—even after you're dead. That's the new reality for celebs like Tupac Shakur and now Marilyn Monroe, who's set to star in a virtual live show. Who should be hologrammed next?

We polled TIME's Twitter followers.



"The woman just deserved more time to rock." — @lunahumming

James Dean

"Doing nothing but enjoying a cigarette." —@LiveLikeFerris

In did Min u

Best showman of all time. OF ALL TIME. --- @serdarsirin











that his seascapes—like 1984's Eleuthera, above—are among the works on display at the Tate St. Ives museum in Cornwall, England, located beachside. The exhibition, called "Give Me Tomorrow," runs through September.



Heartless

I Fishing NY? I Pizza NY? The options are endless, thanks to a new tourism initia. tive. TV and online ads sponsored by New York State Invite anyone to rethink the classic I ♥ NY slogan, subbing for the heart whatever they want-much to the dismay of Milton Glaser, the original logo's designer, who said he doesn't "get" the campaign. 1 19 NY, anyone?

QUICK TALK

Shaquille O'Neal

It's been just over a year since the NBA's most affable player retired from the game. Now Shaq's trying to be a full-time funnyman-bringing back his All-Star Comedy lam tour, shooting the humor flick Grown Ups 2 (out in 2013) and curating gadgets and toys for e-commerce site OpenSky. Here, he yuks it up with TIME. - DAN MACSAL

On the court, your size is a huge advantage. That's usually true in comedy too. Do you ever pose with small things just for laughs? ()h yeah, all the time. Like what? The smallest guy I've ever been next to was Mini-Me. Verne Trover, And the biggest guy was Khali, the giant wrestler dude. I make all my comedians offers they can't refuse. At some point in the past 20 years, you've been an athlete, actor, rapper, announcer and even a police officer. Why the long-term focus on comedy now? It's a big stress reliever. And I love making people laugh. I've always been particularly funny, And modest too. Yeah, it's just-at Lakers games, one of my favorite people, Adam Sandler, used to be like, Shaq, you're one of the funniest guys I know. I'm gonna put you in a movie. Now you're shooting Grown Ups 2, right? Yeah, I was nervous 'cause it's with Adam, David Spade, Chris Rock. So I just put myself in basketball mode. It was like being on the court with Michael Jordan. And I had those guys rolling. Oh yeah? Wait till you see it-it's gonna be the funniest movie ever.



3 THINGS YOU

1. Your 8-year-old having no Facebook friends. Rumor has it

allow children under 13. presumably with

2. Finding a better remote control. The handset for Nintendo's newest gaming console,

3. The walking dead.

Birdies with Bubba The Masters champ re-energizes golf

By Sean Gregory/Dublin, Ohio

BUBBA WATSON HAS THREE FEARS IN LIFE: darkness, heights and crowds. The first two won't hurt you in golf. But the third seems pretty problematic because Watson, 33, is now the Masters champ and golfs reigning stuntman, and his galleries will only grow.

Gerry Lester Watson Jr.—his dad nick named him Bubba for his chubby babby face-traces his ochlophobia to his father, a Green Beert who experienced hand to hand combat in Vietnam. Gerry Sr's eyes were always darting, surveilling those around him, as if he were still in the jungle. "Just built that fear," says Watson, standing off a practice green at the Memorial in Dublin, Ohio, the last big tune-up tournament before the U.S. Open, which starts june 14. "When people are all over you, screaming your name and pushing you and touching" you and all that stuff, it just freaks me out."

If Watson can calm his nerves and channel his raw, unconventional talent to clinch a few more majors, golf may have found its most compelling figure since you know who. After Tiget Woods' fall from grace, golf fans began thirsting for a new folk hero, a player who glues eyeballs to TVanad in spires newcomers to the game. Watson, a self-made, radical swinger from the Florida Panhandle, could be their answer.

Watson is also the most inventive player in golf. He has to be, since his majestic drives often veer off course. That's when the magic show starts. He thrives on hooking and slicing the ball around any tree, bunker or water hazard.

Just watch his miracle on the second playoff hole at the Masters. Watson somehow forced a ball to fly out of the Augusta, Ga., woods, make a go yd, right turn and fall within 10 ft. of the cup, clinching the green jacket. "I want to try a shot that nobody can pull off," he says. "Or just amaze people. That's the thrill."

His style is refreshingly free of fundamental purity. Golf is loaded with swing technicians and textbooks on how to play the game. Yet Watson has never taken a golf lesson or hired a personal coach. The nose thrumbing determination of a nonconformist is the beauty of Bubba's game," says Brandel Chamblee. a Golf Chamnel analyst and ex-PGA Tour player.

Hisswing breaks nearly every rule." I wouldn't copy it," asys fellow four player Ben Curtis, with admiration, "and probably would never tell my kids to." Watson's feet shuffle; his hips turn too violently; his are is wild. But his gyrations create tremendous club speed and power. On average, his drives travel 155 yd., the longest on the PGA Tour. At a pro-am round before the Memoral, his rockets produced awed responses from the gallery: "Ridiculous." "That's but filth."

Watson's emotional reaction to his Masters win—he couldn't stop crying—also won fans over. He was thinking of his father, who mentored him on public courses and died of throat cancer in 2014. And he was thinking of his son. Five days before he left for the Masters, Watson and his wife Angie picked up a month old baby named Caleb, whom they had just adopted. The





adoption process had been a four-year ordeal. "There are moments when you think, Maybe we're just going to be nice to all of our friends' kids," he says.

After the Masters, Watson skipped the prestigious Players Championship and went almost three weeks without picking up a club. He just wanted to bond with Caleb. Watson was rusty at the Memorial and missed the cut. (A resilient Woods won't.) During a mid-May lunch in Isleworth, the exclusive gated community near Orlando where Watson is trying to buy a house—and where Woods got into his infamous car accident—Watson doted over Caleb with high-pitched calls of "Hev. buddy".

In a sport full of robotic personalities, Watson's goof, fund-oving nature stands out. "Bubha is 33 going on 16" says his agent, lens Beck. When Watson says something he thinks is funny—even when it's not—he nods at you as if to say. "You get me. right?" Last year, "Watson and Tellow American pros Rickie Fowler, Hunter Mahan and Ben Crane made a boy-band spoof video for charity. They called themselves the Golf Boys. Watson donned overalls, exposing his woolly chest, and belted out terrible rap lyrics ("Tweet, tweet, I want my birdies all day long." The Cil has been viewed over

5 million times on YouTube. At Bubba's Bash—a charity concert he organized in Columbus, Ohio, two days before the Memorial to benefit the Bubba and Angie Watson Medical Center in Kenya— Watson hopped onstage with a Christian rap artist and showed off some of the whitest dance moves on record.

Watson's recent ascent is especially surprising given that his career nearly imploded a couple of years ago. At the time, he was playing poorly and throw ing public temper tantrums; he velled at his caddie, cursed after wayward shots, complained about murmurs in the crowd. "I was really angry." Watson says, "I got envy, I wasn't being the same Bubba on the golf course as I was off the course." A Tour player since 2006, he had 120 starts but no wins. The frustration was telling. At the 2010 Memorial. another caddie told Watson's caddie Ted Scott, "Dude, your player is an absolute nut job." Scott agreed. After Watson failed to qualify for the U.S. Open that year, Scott sat down with Watson at a Chipotle near Columbus and delivered an ultimatum: Tone it down or I'll quit. "Then I thought, O.K., you're fired," Scott

says. But Watson embraced the critique, controlled his emotions and won his first PGA tournament three weeks later.

Now Watson oozes confidence. He bounced around the Memorial with a straight back and a slight bop as if he owned the place. Those crowds, however, still spook him. After finishing the pro-am, Watson marched toward the clubhouse with a stern, unwelcoming look. "You lied to us, Bubba," shouted a fan who was upset because Watson had promised to sign autographs after the round. "I lied?" Watson snapped back. "I'm going to sign at the putting green like I said I would all day." (The previous night's events didn't help his mood; he says a car chased him home from Bubba's Bash and he had to zigzag around the neighborhood for some 37 minutes to ditch the pursuer.)

Watson started signing but looked per turbed. A child creid after being pushed into the ropes; Watson walked back to give him his signature. "It's sad the grownups are doing that," Watson said. He had a point—most adult autograb hounds need to grow up. Still, Watson knows he must keep a more even keel. "You have to deal with it in a nice manner, with a smile on your face," he says." I have to be stronger." Bubba Watson's game is coming together, both on and off the course, lust when golf needs: it.

TIME LightBox

A blog by the photo editors of TIME.





















See for yourself at lightbox.time.com









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Movies



Double Feature. The indiefilmmaking couple that works together stays together

By Rachel Syme

IT'S HARD TO SAY IF DARYL Wein and Zoe Lister-Iones have a fantastic work-life balance or if they have none at all-but either way, their life is their work and vice versa. The filmmakers live, write and edit together in their brownstone apartment in Brooklyn's Fort Greene split for a year and then reconciled, they wrote a movie about it: 2009's Breaking and directed by Wein. Their new feature, the Sundance hit Lola Versus (now in limited release), draws on Lister-Jones' experience as a single woman during that break. Indie-film the eponymous role of a recently jilted would-be bride staring down 30 in New York City's ruthless dating market. while Lister-Iones (who also appears on the NBC sitcom Whitney) plays Lola's best friend, Wein, 28, and Listerlones, 29, recently welcomed TIME to their home to talk about female archetypes, on-set bickering and the virtues of messiness.

Why explore the scary world of singledom? Don't you get to stop worrying about those things as a couple?

Dary! Wein: After we broke up

and got back together, we talked about what it was like for Zoe as a single woman vs. what it was like for me as a single man during that year we realized that she had a more traumatizing time. Zoe Lister-Jones: I know so many smart, funny, interesting women on the dating flailing. We thought. What is going on? What is this injus-DW: We also noticed there are not a lot of movies about single women that felt authentic. This was before Bridesmaids and before Girls. We wanted to capture the female experience in the way that we knew it. that felt true to our generation and not as highly glamorized as Sex and the City. You rarely see unapologetic, messy female protagonists, and you certainly don't see a lot of female-centric comedies where you are rooting for the woman to be alone. Lola is least happy when she's juggling men. You just want her to figure out herself first.

Lola Versus has earned a lot of comparisons to Lena Dunham's Girls. What do you think of the similarities?

Of the aminarities?

2.13- We love Lena, We met when Breaking Djuuards was at South by Southwest and she was there with her first film, Creatine Nonjichion. If we are part of a new wave of film-making, I think it is in showing this hyperreal journey into self-awareness—young people crafting their own stories instead of letting the studios do it. It sall happened in the past two or three years, these films and shows reporting from the belly of the beast about young neurotics.

DW: The archetype for a female protagonist is becoming much more real. Both Lena's work and our work try to show that. ZLJ: Not everyone can be Julia Roberts or Sandra Bullock, you know? Greta Gerwig is more relatable.

So you write your screenplays together, and then Daryl directs. How does that process work?

DW: When we start, we just talk everything out. We don't write an outline. ZLI: And when either of us feels inspired, they take on however much they want, and it's all out of order. This script in particular was a free-for-all. DW: That way of working was perfect for this story because Lola's trajectory is so messy and all over the place. One minute her life is perfect, the next she's drunk on the street outside a strip club wondering what happened. We wanted to capture

that alienating moment after a

breakup when you push everyone away and then hopefully

Zoe, you play Lola's best friend in the film. Do you like being directed by Daryl? DW: I'll answer for her

here... No.

redeem vourself.

ZL: This movie wasn't hard. Our first film was more difficult. We were prone to bickering because it was so stressful and intense. Our filters were down. We had a lot of fights public fights.

Dw. I know her better than anyone, which makes the actor-director relationship that much easier at times but also all the more difficult.

ZU: When you're an actor working with a director who doesn't know you that well, you're a shiny new object, and they get really excited by your

bag of tricks. Daryl has very little excitement left in him for my tricks.

DW: I'm eternally excited for your tricks! It's just a constant state of excitement, so you can't tell.

Why were the two of you drawn to filmmaking?

drawn to Immaking!

Diw! I was always playing,
with a video camera growing
up. My dad, who was a cre
ative director in advertising,
filmed our family all the
time, so I was probably influenced a lot by his family videos. After college, I decided to
start making my own films
independently because!
didn't want to wait for someone to say yes.

The I mergent in New York

ZLJ: I grew up in New York City, and my parents were artists [photographer Bill] ones and video artist Adele Lister]. I studied at New York University and the Academy of Dramatic Arts in London. I came into this as an actress first.

DW-NYU was where Zoe and I met as undergrads. She saw me perform in an Arthur Miller play before asking me to a party on a giant boat, where she branded my arm with her name in watercolor paint. We've been together for eight years.

It seems as though there aren't too many couples who can work so closely and stay together.

ZLI: There's no gap between the personal and the professional. And for us, it works.

DW: I'm the only person I know who writes with and directs my partner.

Maybe everyone else broke up!



Tuned In



Daddy Issues. What's so funny about men taking care of babies?

By James Poniewozik

WHEN MY WIFE HAD DUR PIRST BARY, I, like many new dads, discovered that infants now come with carrying cases. There's the Baby Bjorn, for strapping Junior to your chest; the Coth sling, for the hunter-gatherer look; and the backpack, for the man who prefers to pretend that his child is camping gear.

The baby carrier is a symbol of a generation of dads-the Baby Biorners-who. because of spouses' careers, the desire to be involved in their kids' lives, divorce or simple fairness, are doing more of the physical work of parenting. But it's also become a ubiquitous TV and movie sight gag. Comical dudes wearing babies have been on posters for the movies The Hanaover and What to Expect When You're Expecting: they're on NBC's fall pilot Guys with Kids, whose three dads hang at a bar with baby luggage around their midsections; and they're on ABC Family's new sitcom Baby Daddy, about a 20-something bachelor struggling to raise a baby left on his doorstep by his ex-girlfriend. Happy Father's Day, dads of America! Pop culture thinks you look really stupid trying to care for the babies you made!

In real life, the hands on dad is no longer an oddity: 32% of fathers with wives in the workforce were regular caregivers

for kids in 2010, up from 26% in 2002; 20% of dads with kids under 5 are the primary caregiver. Society is getting used to the stroller-wrangling, sippycup-juggling dad.

But TV's still working on it. TV dads were present at the birth of the medium—or at least stitting in the waiting room, handing out cigars—but change has come to them slowly. Ward Cleaver and Cliff Huxtable perched on the ends of beds and dispensed advice. Dad was an executive role, the big-picture guy. Later, guys like Homer Simpson and Al Bundy were beer-drinking cautionary tales—postpartiarch without a role or clue.

Now, with fatherhood more about the in-the-trenches work of lunchmaking and bottom wiping, the baby-wearing sight gag suggests an anxiety that the nurturing role turns men into girls.

Society is getting used to the strollerwrangling, sippy-cupjuggling dad. But TV's still working on it Dates, Detect traces began full prothers are for the rick

Having a baby around your waist, the joke goes, makes it hard to hold a beer and high-five your bro while watching the game. You're burdened, ungainly; your profile is a pregnant woman's. That baby you're wearing is human drag.

Much dad humor today is based on the premise that it's unnatural for men to be good at caring for kids. In Baby Daddy. Ben (Jean-Luc Bilodeau) changes his first diaper using goggles, duct tape, rubber gloves and tongs. (His childless female friend, of course, takes to it instantly.) The same attitude pervades commercials. Huggies' recent campaign "The Dad Test" boasted that its diapers and wipes are so good, men can use them without help from their wives. In Guvs with Kids, meanwhile, stay-at-home dad Gary (Anthony Anderson) commiserates with a female friend about being unappreciated by their working spouses: "And then they have to take an emergency call from work. Just when it's bath time!" The only thing that makes that a joke is that a dad-a man! with a penis!-is saying it.

There are, fortunately, better dat of we models in sitcoms shows like Modern Family. Louic and Up All Night involve caregiver dads without treating them as ridiculous or unmanned. And The Week the Women Went, a four part reality special airting on Lifetime in August, takes a mixed, nuanced look at what happens when the wives and mothers of blue collar Yemassee, S.C., skip town for seven days, leaving the men behind.

As befits a channel aimed at women, The Week shows plenty of hapless dads confounded by meltdowns and laundry. But it also introduces a radical idea: a man might not only be decent at caring for his kids but actually wish he could do more oft. One railroad worker talks about his job, which forces him to spend weeks out of town. "I'm a commuter dad," he says, his voice catching. "My kids are growing up without me." That's a worry I suspect trings truer for That's a worry I suspect trings truer for

the Baby Bjorn generation than the horror of wiping spit-up: the fear of spending so much time being a provider that you never get to be a dad. Yeah, that baby carrier may be clumsy and ridiculous. But being away from your kids, dirty diapers and all? That weighs much heavier. DOWJONES

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

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Joel Stein



Can I Get Brains with That?

Who's to blame for the recent spate of cannibalism? a) Zombies, b) Foodies

VE LUVED LONG ENOUGH TO KNOW that people occasionally do weird things for attention: rich actresses shoplift, basketball players name themselves Meta World Peace, musicians appear on Glee. But when six horifying cannibalistic attacks occur at once, it is time to blame our culture. And because it is so easy to blame the culture, I have volunteered to do it.

At the end of May, a gay Canadian porn star posted a video in which he allegedly killed and ate parts of his boyfriend: a naked Miami man, in a public area covered by security cameras, ate the face of a living homeless man until he was shot by cops; a Maryland college heart and brain; a Swedish guy allegedly took revenge on his cheating wife by cutting off and then eating her lips; a Japanese guy who decided he was asexual had his genitals surgically removed and then, supervised by a chef, cooked them for a dinner party for which he charged guests nearly \$200; and Castle. on the ABC show Castle, solved a mystery in which a guy ate another guy, the details of which are unknown since it would require me to watch Castle.

It would be easy to blame our obsession with zombies. Or Castle. Some have blamed synthetic drugs for these men's actions. But I believe the cannibalism epidemic is the result of foodie culture. After getting crispy pig's ears atop nearly every dish at hip restaurants, maybe human flesh just doesn't seem so weird. I've eaten horse and have been curious about dog and, Jadmit, was kind of disappointed

that none of the cannibalism news stories got specific about what human tastes like—other than the Japanese one, which only reinforced my assumptions about why women don't like to do certain things to their husbands.

I ran my theory by the only person I knew who would agree with me: Lisa Lange, senior vice president of communications for People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, PETA, she told me, had been tracking the porn star before his reported cannibalism because he had allegedly made videos in which he tortured and killed kittens. "That he moved on to human beings wasn't a big surprise to us," she said. "There's no difference between eating any kind of flesh." If you follow her logic, this means that Whole Foods could make just as much money by replacing Tofurky with Tohumany.

Armed with Lange's argument, I called Andrew Zimmern, the host of the Travel Channel's Bizarre Foods. Zimmern has a children's book coming out in October called Andrew Zimmern's Field Guide to Exceptionally Weird, Wild and Wonderful Foods, in which he advocates eating maggot cheese, ox heart and

those weird orange candy circus peanuts. In the chapter "Brains," he writes, "When brains are cooked whole, I can crush the skull between my teeth like a bipedal seal humanoid, reveling in the sweet rush of juticy cranial gray matter as it courses its way down my throat. Yum!" Even zombies think Zimmern is a bit much.

Zimmern, to my surprise, agreed with my assessment. He was not shocked that the genital dinner party took place in Japan, a country even more food-

In Japan, a Country even more 1000, obsessed than the U.S. And he's a few weeks away from a trip to Papua New Guinea, where warriors still practice cannibalism on their enemies. "We've been planning this episode for several years and actually discussed if I would." he said. "I'm just trying to keep an poor mind. As a che' and food professional, I get really competitive." Although I have lived in Manhattan and Hollywood, this was the first time I felt a man long for me in this particular way.

However, Zimmern argued that extreme eating is not making us less empathetic but more. Getting more diverse animal sources and using the entire beast is more respectful than just eating a 14 oz. (400 g) hunk of steak. Meanwhile, Zimmern pointed out that many Americans—shielded from routine murder of animals by their cellophane wrapped boneless chicken breasts—have had a weirder reaction to the spate of cannibalism than he has. "Very few people have said," Oh my God, another person has been killed."

flesh," he said.

That's because there's something
about the idea of eating all meat,

from chicken to ox hearts to human, that is disgusting and that we try to avoid thinking about.

And then someone goes and eats

someone else's penis and we have to confront that. So I'm going to try to be more aware of what I'm eating.

And less aware of what Zimmern is.



TO GREET STRANGERS

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Comedian and provocateur Chris Rock on race, presidential politics and being funny in the age of YouTube

You're in your third Madagascar installment. Is your most successful movie role that of a zebra?
Zebra, yes! When I play an animal, everybody better look out. It's like Will Smith, Johnny Depp, Brad Pitt are saying. "On my God, Rock's taking the voice of an animal. We gotta push our movies back!"

Your zebra wondered at one point if he was black with white stripes or white with black stripes. Is race still an interesting subject comedically for you? Sometimes, yeah, And sometimes I'm bored with it. to tell you the truth. The world isn't where it was 12 years ago or whenever I did my first special. Some of those jokes don't work anymore. There's one other black girl in my daughter's class. And some of the kids mix up their goes, "Yeah, well, we are the shortest kids in the class." Isn't that beautiful that we live in a world where she's like, "They confuse us because we're short"?

You told black drama students that if they weren't making history, they weren't doing anything. What history are you making with Grown Ups 2?
Let's see. When Grown Ups 2 comes out, chances are, unless Tyler Perry has a movie out, I might be the only black

person starring in a movie. It's gonna be big to somebody. Everything's not the Underground Railroad. Everything's not Jackie Robinson. Sometimes you're the first black guy to eat four M&Ms.

You were a campaign correspondent for the presidential election in 1996— Back when white men were President.

If you had that job again, what

stories would you chase?
I'm into the whole [Mitt] Romney Mormon thing, It's an odd
choice for Republicans four
years after a black President.
It's like, "Let's get the guy
whose religion thought black
people were the devil until
you's That ought to do it!"

Who could he choose as a VP nominee who might make you think again?

I'm not that into politics. The country's like a ship. It's not a car. You can change [its direction] a little bit. Bush—that was choppy seas. Ooh, we're at war. Ooh, the money that was in there is gone. But it just keeps sailing.

What kind of a captain do you think Obama has been?

Pretty good. People are complaining, but it's like complaining about your team winning by one: "I can't believe we keep winning by one! What the hell's going on? Another close victory?" Meanwhile, it's like a 30-game win streak.

Is it harder to be funny when you're famous?

If anything, this time of You-Tube and cell-phone cameras makes the process of creating stand-up comedy harder. I want to go on tour next year, and I've got to figure out how I'm going to prepare an act without it getting out. It's like anytime you tell a joke, somebody's got a camera. The beau ty of jokes is the surprise. Plus, when you think you're being watched like that, you're less likely to take chances.

How has being a father changed the way you work?

I think I focus more, because you have this other time that you have to be with your children. I've never been with my children and been like, "Boy, it would be great to be on a movie set right now." Any-body who says their job is beter than their kids shouldn't have children.—Should have their children, like, taken away from them.

Your grandfather was a preacher. Is that where the sermon-like quality of your comedy comes from?

I try to make it musical. When I'm doing stand-up, it's like, "What's the chorus?" "What's the verse?" "What's the bridge?" and "Let's go back to the chorus."

But it's sort of moral, like preaching, no? It's not—what's [New York

City Mayor Michael Bloomberg trying to do, outlaw 20oz. sodas? That's preachy.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE

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